
EUROPE AT 6PM

IMAGES OF THE EU ON NEW ZEALAND TELEVISION NEWS

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ABSTRACT

Contributing to the broader debate on the nature and identity of the European Union (EU), this thesis is a study of the EU from the outside looking in: an examination of how this novel process of integration among the nations of Europe is viewed by its partners around the world, in particular in New Zealand through its television news media. While there are many studies which examine how the EU is understood and represented within its borders, there is an absence of parallel studies which consider the image of the EU from an external perspective. Recognising that the television news media plays a particularly important role in influencing the knowledge and perceptions of people on foreign matters, the thesis presents an analysis of the entire EU television news coverage in New Zealand's two prime-time television news bulletins throughout 2004. The primary research question that the thesis investigates is, how is the EU framed in the television news media of New Zealand, an external 'Other' of the EU?

The study was multi-methodological in nature and analysed each of the relevant news items using content analysis, as well as undertaking deeper analysis of the metaphorical categorisations and the visual images of the EU, to detect the entire range of EU representations and the overall image of the EU these created for New Zealand television news audiences. These findings were then compared against corresponding research from Australia, South Korea and Thailand, as well as to the perceptions of New Zealand's leading newsmakers, in order to account for the most important trends in EU image formation in New Zealand. In particular it was found that the EU was often entirely absent from the New Zealand television news space, and when it was visible, was often presented in a way which ignored the extensive domestic relevance of the Union for New Zealand and its immediate region.

CHAPTER ONE

WATCHING THE EUROPEAN UNION FROM NEW ZEALAND

“For the [European] Union to prosper it must project a positive image of itself to opinion formers and to the ‘man in the street’ both within and beyond its borders... To date the Union’s external action has been compromised both by its reluctance to engage pro-actively with foreign publics...[and yet] the opinions, attitudes and behaviour of people abroad matter...because they have genuine impact on the delivery of economic and foreign policy objectives”.

Stephen Twigg
Director, the Foreign Policy Centre¹

1.1 VIEWING THE EU FROM OUTSIDE

Through out its 50 years of being, the European Union (EU) has been described in many ways. Commonly, it has been caricatured as an ‘economic muscle’, ‘economic giant’, or even a “fiscal gargantua”². It has been seen through a combination of images depicting it on the one hand as a ‘powerhouse’ or ‘superpower’ of fiscal policy, while at the same time describing it as a ‘pygmy’ or ‘dwarf’ of political and military action. Some have viewed it as an avant-garde, ‘stylish’ new fashion-statement in global political affairs,³ while more dramatic descriptions have included a “political Frankenstein”,⁴ a “federalising Behemoth”,⁵ “Byzantine bureaucracy”,⁶ a “gravy

¹ Stephen Twigg, “Preface”, in *European Infopolitik: Developing EU Public Diplomacy Strategy*, edited by Philip Fiske de Gouveia and Hester Plumridge, (London: The Foreign Policy Centre, 2005), vi-vii.

² Lydia Bell, “Push More Pens - Europe - A Worldwide Special Report - The Bureaucracy,” *The Australian*, May 3 2004, T11

³ Parag Khanna, “The Metrosexual Superpower”, *Foreign Policy* July/August (2004).

⁴ Lydia Bell, “Push More Pens”.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

train”,⁷ or more enthusiastically, an “anchor of prosperity”.⁸ One of the more colourful descriptions of this constellation of European nation states has been “a cause with the smell of death upon it”.⁹ However it has been seen though, most of the descriptions of who the EU is, and what it does, have come from the perspective of those situated within the EU; although the Union affects many countries and people outside of its borders, the primary focus in European integration has, perhaps unsurprisingly, looked within its borders, and occasionally from the inside, out.

Until very recently however, few studies have examined the opposite angle: how the EU is viewed from the outside looking in. And yet, looking in the ‘mirror’ of others is considered to offer a perspective which can tell us much about ourselves. This thesis is a study of the EU from the outside looking in; an examination of how this novel process of cooperation and integration among the nations of Europe is viewed by its partners around the world, in particular in New Zealand through its television news media. Specifically, the thesis presents an analysis of the totality of EU television news coverage in New Zealand’s two prime-time television news bulletins throughout the entire 2004 year. Multi-methodological in nature, the study analysed each of the relevant news items using content analysis tools as well as undertaking deeper analysis of the metaphorical categorisations and the visual images of the EU, in order to detect the entire range of EU representations and what overall image of the EU these created for New Zealand television news audiences. These findings were then compared against corresponding research from Australia, South Korea and Thailand, as well as to the perceptions of New Zealand’s leading newsmakers, in order to account for the most important trends in EU image formation in New Zealand.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Catherine Field, “Big Bang Redraws Map”, *The New Zealand Herald*, 28 April 2004, B04.

⁹ Jeremy Lovell, “European Future Hangs in Balance”, *The New Zealand Herald*, 26 April 2004.

1.2 A UNION IN CRISIS? SETTING THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Within its own borders, full comprehension of the EU is considered to be a key problem facing the Union and its citizens. One former Commission spokesperson, for example, once claimed that “[t]he problem is that the EU is not understood, and there is a need to bridge the gap between the EU and its citizens.”¹⁰ Margot Wallström, EU Commission Vice-President, has reiterated this idea by identifying the lack of a common perception about the very nature of Europe: “the real problem in Europe”, she noted, “is that there is no agreement or understanding about what Europe is for and where it is going”.¹¹

Scholars of EU integration have argued that this lack of a common understanding about the EU in many ways constitutes a crisis of legitimacy in the European project. There is much debate about the fundamental causes of this legitimacy crisis. Some, like Lord and Beetham, for example, have argued that it is in part driven by a lack of popular sovereignty in the EU process, which stems not only from a lack of public acceptance and understanding of that process, but also from the lack of effective mechanisms for those citizens to contribute directly.¹² Gerhards, too has argued that this absence of a sphere for the European public to debate and deliberate on EU policies is one of the underlying causes of another widely discussed ‘crisis’ in European integration, the democratic deficit.¹³ Indeed, this democratic deficit that the

¹⁰ Jean-Christophe Filori, spokesman for the Commissioner for Enlargement, cited in Lydia Bell, “Push More Pens”.

¹¹ Margot Wallström, “Communicating Europe in Stormy Waters: Plan D”, *SPEECH/05/396*, June 28, 2005, 2.

¹² David Beetham and Christopher Lord, *Legitimacy and the European Union* (Essex: Addison Wesley Longman, 1998). See also: Christopher Lord, “Legitimacy, Democracy and the EU: When Abstract Questions Become Practical Policy Problems”, *Economic and Social Research Council Policy Paper* 03/00, (2000), <http://www.one-europe.ac.uk/cgi-bin/esrc/world/db.cgi/publications.htm>.

¹³ Jürgen Gerhards, “Westeuropäische Integration und die Schwierigkeiten der Entstehung einer europäischen Öffentlichkeit”, cited and translated in Christoph Meyer, “Political Legitimacy and the Invisibility of Politics: Exploring the European Union’s Communication Deficit”, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37, No. 4, (1999), 622.

EU is said to suffer from has been the focus of a vast number of studies,¹⁴ and it is often contended that the EU's democratic shortcomings are the basis if not the cause of the lack of legitimation in the European project. Some of the key indicators of the supposed democratic deficit are considered to be the overly powerful influence of the European executive (the Commission), particularly in respect to the legislatively weak European Parliament (EP). Additionally, and contributing to the perceived weakness of the EP, it is contended by democratic deficit advocates that the EP elections – the only directly democratic mechanism for EU citizens to use in influencing EU policy direction – are inherently national in orientation instead of European. EU citizens too, have demonstrated a distinct apathy towards these elections, with consistently low voter-turnouts at successive EP elections. Perhaps as a result of this weak level of direct democratic participation, it is argued that EU citizens feel distanced from the European project, a project which is often seen as being elitist and out of touch with the reality of these citizens' wishes.¹⁵ Although prominent critics like Moravcsik and Majone have argued strongly that these democratic deficit arguments are overstated,¹⁶ and that the procedures currently in place are more than sufficient for ensuring the effective functioning of the EU, the very perception among EU citizens that there is a democratic deficit within the Union makes it a problem that must be addressed. The EU itself has acknowledged the problem of the democratic deficit and

¹⁴ Richard Bellamy, "Still in Deficit: Rights, Regulation, and Democracy in the EU", *European Law Journal* 12, No. 6, (2006) 725–742; Robert Dahl, "Can International Organizations Be Democratic? A Skeptic's View", in *Democracy's Edges*, edited by Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordon, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999): 19–36; Andreas Follesdal and Simon Hix, "Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik", *European Governance Papers (EUROGOV)*, No. C-05-02, (2005), <http://www.connex-network.org/eurogov/pdf/egp-connex-C-05-02.pdf>; Vivien Schmidt, "Democracy in Europe: The Impact of European Integration", *Perspectives on Politics* 3, No. 4, (2005); Joseph Weiler, Ulrich Haltern and Franz Mayer, "European Democracy and Its Critique: Five Uneasy Pieces", *Jean Monnet Working Paper*, No. 7/99, (1995), <http://jeanmonnetprogram.org/papers/95/950lind.html>.

¹⁵ Margot Wallström, "Communicating Europe in Stormy Waters", 2.

¹⁶ Giandomenico Majone, "Europe's 'Democratic Deficit': The Question of Standards", *European Law Journal* 4, No. 1, (1998), 5-28; Andrew Moravcsik, "In Defence of the 'Democratic Deficit': Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40, No. 4, (2002): 603-624.

has been taking steps to address it and to enhance the democratic mandates of its institutions.¹⁷

More recently, attention has been drawn to the EU's communication strategies – or lack thereof – and how they have contributed to the lack of connection that EU citizens feel towards the Union. Meyer was the first to draw significant attention to this aspect of the EU's problems, and contended that the development of an effective dialogue between the EU and its citizens would help to engender debate among the citizens of Europe, and thus would contribute to the support of the European project, and ultimately, to the conferral of public legitimation to the process.¹⁸

Meyer's arguments have prompted a proliferation of empirical studies which examine the EU's acute inability to effectively communicate itself, particularly through the news media, the European public's key source of information on the Union. Researchers from the Amsterdam School of Communications Research have in particular built on the founding work in this area of Blumler who studied the news media coverage of the first EP elections in 1979,¹⁹ and they have developed a vast collection of studies examining just what information about the EU is presented through the news media of EU Member States, how it represents the EU to its public, and how that public consequently views the EU itself.²⁰ Many of these studies have

¹⁷ European Council, "Declaration on the Future of the European Union – Laeken Declaration", 15 December 2001, <http://www.euconvention.be/static/LaekenDeclaration.asp>.

¹⁸ Christoph Meyer, "Political Legitimacy and the Invisibility of Politics".

¹⁹ Jay Blumler, ed., *Communicating to Voters*, (London: Sage, 1983).

²⁰ See for example: Jochen Peter, Holli Semetko, Claes de Vreese, "EU Politics on Television News: A Cross-National Comparative Study", *European Union Politics* 4, No. 3, (2003); Jochen Peter and Claes de Vreese, "In Search of Europe: A Cross-National Comparative Study of the European Union in National Television News", *Press/Politics* 9, No. 4, (2004); Holli Semetko and Patti Valkenburg, "Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News", *Journal of Communication* Spring, (2000); Claes de Vreese, "'Europe' in the News: A Cross-National Comparative Study of the News Coverage of Key EU Events", *European Union Politics* 2, No. 3, (2001); Claes de Vreese, *Framing Europe: Television News and European Integration*, (Amsterdam: Askant, 2004); Claes de Vreese, et al., "The News Coverage of the 2004 European Parliamentary Election Campaign in 25 Countries", *European Union Politics* 7, No. 4 (2006); Claes de Vreese,

found that the EU is presented to the European public through the specific national lenses of each Member State, and that there is very little evidence of a unified and Europeanised approach to EU news, thus further distancing the citizens of Europe from the idea of the EU itself.

The failed referenda in France and the Netherlands on the proposed EU Constitutional Treaty in 2005 brought such problems into prominent focus, and drew the attention of the EU itself. The consequent political fallout from these negative referenda led to the European Council initiating a “period of reflection” which identified the EU’s communication deficit, and in particular the apparent apathy of European citizens towards the EU, as key problems requiring solutions.²¹ More recently, the Commission has instigated a range of policies and actions which are aimed at working towards such solutions. In particular, and addressing the issues of the democratic and communication deficits, the Commission has implemented a new communication strategy, known as “Plan-D”, intended to stimulate wider debate between the institutions of Europe and EU citizens.²²

In fact, the Commission headed by José Manuel Barroso is the first European Commission to devote significant attention and resources to improving the institution’s communication efforts, stating that effective communication is “...one of

Jochen Peter and Holli Semetko, “Framing Politics at the Launch of the Euro: A Cross-National Comparative Study of Frames in the News”, *Political Communication* 18 (2001).

²¹ See Christoph Meyer, “Political Legitimacy and the Invisibility of Politics”; Claes de Vreese, “Communicating Europe”, *Foreign Policy Centre/British Council Next Generation Democracy Pamphlet*, <http://www.network-europe.net>; Margot Wallström, “Communicating Europe in Stormy Waters”; Margot Wallström, “Slow Progress on Communication Strategy Due to Commission’s Internal Problem”, *Interview for EurActiv*, <http://www.euractiv.com/Article?tcmuri=tcm:29-137597-16&type=Interview>; European Council, “Jean-Claude Juncker States that there Will be a Period for Reflection and Discussion”, *Press Release*, 17 June 2005, <http://www.eu2005.lu/en/actualites/communiqués/2005/06/16jclj-ratif/index.html>.

²² European Commission, “The Commission’s Contribution to the Period of Reflection and Beyond: Plan D for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate”, *COM(2005) 494*; European Commission, “Communication from the Commission to the European Council – the Period of Reflection and Plan D”, *COM(2006) 212*, http://ec.europa.eu/commission_barroso/president/pdf/com_2006_212_en.pdf; Margot Wallström, “Communicating a Europe in Stormy Waters”.

the strategic objectives for its term in office, [thus] recognising it fully as a policy in its own right”.²³ Commission Vice-President Margot Wallström is the Commissioner responsible for Communication, and under her guidance, the Directorate General for Communication has initiated a range of policies aimed at “putting citizens at the heart of European policies”.²⁴ In particular, in 2005, the Commission issued an Action Plan for its communication efforts, which prioritised engaging the public of Europe in a dialogue on the future of the EU, and the professionalisation of its communication activities.²⁵ Efforts were to be made by the Commission to make its outreach activities more directly targeted at emphasising the direct relevance of EU policies for citizens.²⁶ Additionally, the Commission targeted the use of new media, in particular the online resources available for communication efforts. An online ‘Debate Europe’ discussion website was initiated, which by March 2006 had already generated over a million ‘hits’ and over 19,000 discussion posts, making it a clear success in the Commission’s opinion,²⁷ for generating a dialogue between the Commission and the people of Europe. Similarly, Wallström herself began an online ‘blog’ in which she details her activities as Commissioner for Communication, and through which members of the public can engage in discussions with the Commissioner,²⁸ in order to demonstrate that the Commission is made up of “real human beings”,²⁹ and not faceless bureaucrats. The EU’s audio-visual service, Europe by Satellite, has been continued by the current Commission, and is designed to provide journalists with audio and visual footage of EU news, as well as stock shots and institutional content

²³ European Commission, “Action Plan to Improve Communicating Europe by the Commission”, 20 July 2005, http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/communication/pdf/communication_com_en.pdf.

²⁴ European Commission, “Communication Policy: Why is Communication So Important?”, *Directorate-General Communication*, http://ec.europa.eu/commission_barroso/wallstrom/communicating/policy/index_en.htm.

²⁵ European Commission, “Action Plan to Improve Communicating Europe by the Commission”.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Margot Wallström, “My Blog”, http://blogs.ec.europa.eu/blog_wallstrom/page/wallstrom.

²⁹ Margot Wallström, “Communicating Europe in Stormy Waters”, 2.

that can be used in the creation of news items, and is a service provided by the Commission free of charge.³⁰

Although a recent output from this Commission-led debate noted the perceived importance by EU citizens of the EU's role in the world,³¹ 'Plan-D', the various Commission communication efforts and the 'reflection period' more generally have failed to account for how the EU is communicated to the world in which it seeks to play such a prominent role. Yet, it is often argued that much can be learnt about oneself by looking through the eyes of others – by examining our own 'reflections' in the mirror of our significant 'Others'. Stråth, for example, has contended that Europe cannot truly exist without 'non-Europe',³² while Manners and Whitman have argued that to account for the totality of the EU's identity and how this is understood, multiple standpoints must be considered.³³ Arguably, one such standpoint would be the perceptions of the EU that those outside of its borders have. Indeed, Bretherton and Vogler have argued that an incorporation of this external focus into the EU debate may play an important role in the development of coherent and consistent internal EU policy.³⁴

This thesis therefore aims to provide just such an external perspective, because, despite the extensive research on the communications of the EU within its borders, there is virtually no corresponding research on this external perspective. Unlike the

³⁰ European Commission, "Action Plan to Improve Communicating Europe by the Commission"; European Commission, *Europe By Satellite*, http://ec.europa.eu/avservices/about/mission_en.cfm.

³¹ European Commission, "The Commission's Contribution to the Period of Reflection and Beyond"; European Commission, "Communication from the Commission to the European Council – the Period of Reflection and Plan D", 6.

³² Bo Stråth, "Intercultural Dialogue", (Presentation - Outline of Session, *Images of Europe in the World Conference*, Brussels 20-21 March, 2002).

³³ Ian Manners and Richard Whitman, "'The Difference Engine': Constructing and Representing the International Identity of the European Union", *Journal of European Public Policy* 10, No. 3, (1998), 237.

³⁴ Charlotte Bretherton, and John Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*, (London: Routledge, 1999), 45.

efforts that the EU is making to foster dialogue between its institutions and its citizens within its borders, and to create a more cohesive EU communication policy, in the case of those outside the Union's borders, there are no such mechanisms in place. Instead, the majority of the information that people outside the EU receive necessarily comes to them via the international news media. Lippmann famously noted the importance of the news media in bringing such information about the outside world to our immediate lives in the 1920s.³⁵ Although many factors are argued to influence people's perceptions of foreign matters – like the EU in this particular case – the news media are argued to play a particularly influential role. Ball-Rokeach and deFleur claimed that this increased influence was due to the fact that the public are particularly dependent on the news media for information about foreign affairs, since the majority have very little direct contact with these matters personally, and thus they must receive information through a secondary source.³⁶ The news media are considered to be that source.

This thesis provides a contribution to the void of studies which examine how the EU communicates with its external partners. In particular, it examines how the EU is portrayed to the New Zealand public through the news media, and through the television news media specifically, a media often described as the public's "window on the world".³⁷

³⁵ Walter Lippman, *Public Opinion*, (New York: MacMillan, 1922).

³⁶ Melvin deFleur and Sandra Ball-Rokeach, *Theories of Mass Communication* (5th Edition), (White Plains, New York: Longman, 1989); Sandra Ball-Rokeach and Melvin deFleur, "A Dependency Model of Mass-Media Effects", *Communication Research* 3, no. 1 (1976).

³⁷ Gaye Tuchman, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*, (New York: The Free Press, 1978), 1.

1.3 THE EU AND NEW ZEALAND: CASES IN POINT

Those who choose to study the EU from the vantage point of New Zealand – situated half way across the globe from continental Europe – are often asked a single question, posed to them by other scholars and the general public alike: why study something so far away? But although the EU and New Zealand are geographically separated, this separation does not exist at the level of policy. In fact, the EU is of great importance for New Zealand, and the connections between the two partners are extensive.

1.3.1 The Uniting States of Europe

The process of uniting the various nation states of Europe began over 50 years ago at the end of the second war to ravage the continent in little more than three decades. After witnessing such destruction at the hands of their neighbours, European nations needed to establish a way of moving forward and of ensuring that such devastation would never happen again. The dual notions of peace and prosperity were the underlying objectives in the development of what Winston Churchill described as a “United States of Europe”,³⁸ which, the statesman argued “...if well and truly built, will be such as to make the material strength of a single state less important”.³⁹ And so, in 1951, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was created by the Treaty of Paris as a system to unify the coal and steel industries of six nations of Europe: Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, thus making it “materially impossible”⁴⁰ for any member country to arm for war and, it was hoped, to build a flourishing economic community. Robert Schuman, one of the founding architects of a unified Europe believed that this economic cooperation would

³⁸ Winston Churchill, “The Tragedy of Europe”, Speech in Zurich 19 September 1946. Published in *The Times*, 20 September 1946, <http://www.euro-know.org/speeches/paperchurchill.html>.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Robert Schuman, “Plan for a Coal and Steel Community”, *The Schuman Declaration*, 9 May 1950, http://europa.eu/abc/symbols/9-may/decl_en.htm.

lay the foundations for “...a broader and deeper community among [the peoples of Europe]...for institutions which will give direction to a destiny henceforward shared”.⁴¹ Indeed, this shared destiny has evolved dramatically since those humble beginnings in 1951. In 1957, the six ECSC members signed the Treaty of Rome which formally established the European Economic Community (EEC), as well as European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom), in order to create a common market. By 1967, the ECSC, EEC and Euratom were formally merged with a single Council and Commission into the European Communities (EC), and two decades later the Single European Act (SEA) marked the first commitment of the various members of the EC to become a “European Union”.⁴²

But by the time of the SEA, more had changed within the EC than its executive structure and name; its membership had also grown dramatically. The first addition to the founding six Member States was in 1973, with the addition of the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark. This was followed in 1981 with the inclusion of Greece, and in 1986 with Spain and Portugal, thus bringing the membership total to 12. That same year, a symbol of this union of European nations was first seen: on 29 May 1986, the European flag, depicting 12 gold stars on a blue background, an image considered to symbolise perfection, completeness and unity,⁴³ was raised for the first time in front of the European Commission building,⁴⁴ and was accompanied by a rousing rendition of Beethoven’s ninth symphony, henceforth known as the European anthem.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Treaty Establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, *Preamble*, <http://europa.eu/abc/treaties/archives/en/entoc29.htm>.

⁴² European Commission, “The Single European Act”, *Legislation*, http://europa.eu/scadplus/treaties/singleact_en.htm.

⁴³ European Commission, “The Symbols of the European Union”, *Europa*, http://europa.eu/abc/symbols/emblem/index_en.htm.

⁴⁴ European Commission, “The History of the European Union: 1986”, *Europa*, http://europa.eu/abc/history/1980-1989/1986/index_en.htm.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

1993 saw another significant step in the evolution of the “ever closer union amongst the peoples of Europe”⁴⁶ with the bringing into force of the Treaty on the European Union, otherwise referred to as the Maastricht Treaty. Maastricht significantly revised the structure and competences of the now ‘European Union’ (EU) by bringing a distinct element of political cooperation into the formerly economic EC. A new institutional structure known as the ‘pillars’ of integration was established in the Treaty: pillar one included the various Community domains in which the Member States had already pooled their sovereignty, in particular economic competences; pillar two established a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), thus allowing the Member States to take joint action in the area of foreign affairs; and the final pillar concerned Member State cooperation in the fields of justice and home affairs.

These evolutions in EU competence also created further incentives for others to want to join the European ‘club’. By 1995, three more additions had been made, in the form of Austria, Finland and Sweden, bringing the total number of Member States to 15. With the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s and the radical transformation to the geo-political landscape of Europe that this inspired, the EU suddenly found itself with many new, much poorer neighbours. The prospect of EU membership was found to be an effective tool for helping the former Soviet states make the transition to market economies and democracy, and indeed ultimately lead to the biggest expansion of the EU in 2004, with the addition of ten new Member States (Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia), as well as Romania and Bulgaria in 2007, thus bringing the total number of EU Member States in 2007 to 27.

Having always had economic cooperation at its heart, the EU’s prowess in this area is widely known. With its own currency since 2002, the EU is also the single largest

⁴⁶ Treaty Establishing the European Community, *Preamble*, http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/dat/C_2002325EN.003301.html, Accessed 20 August 2007.

market in the world, and generates more than a quarter of the world's growth.⁴⁷ In addition to the growth in its physical size, the developments in areas of political and judicial cooperation have seen the EU's global strengths move beyond trading interests. Using a combination of development and humanitarian assistance, trade cooperation agreements, sanctions, and its considerable normative influence, the EU has worked consistently to promote and maintain peace and stability in the world. In its aid efforts the EU is unparalleled, being the world's most important development and humanitarian aid donor,⁴⁸ and it has become an increasingly important actor in areas requiring mediated solutions, as in the Middle East, where its High Representative for CFSP is a member of the Diplomatic Quartet working towards peace and stability in the region, and it is also involved in the ongoing negotiations pertaining to Iran's nuclear capabilities. Additionally, the EU's efforts in environmental policy have become the benchmark for many of the Union's partners around the world.⁴⁹ Although the EU's efforts in external affairs are far from unchallenged, it is increasingly viewed as an alternative to the dominant global superpower, the United States (US); the European superpower taking a 'soft' (and sometimes preferable) approach to many of its foreign relations, in the face of the often hard-lined stance of the US.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ European Commission, "The EU's Global Role", http://ec.europa.eu/world/what/index_en.htm.

⁴⁸ Charlotte Bretherton, and John Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*, 111; Benita Ferrero-Waldner, "The European Union and New Zealand: New Perspectives", *Annual Europa Speech*, Te Papa, Wellington, New Zealand, 27 June 2007.

⁴⁹ Charlotte Bretherton, and John Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*, 103; European Commission, "European Union and New Zealand Set Out New Agenda for Bilateral Relations", *Press Release*, 26 June, 2007, <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/07/885&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>.

⁵⁰ See for example: Parag Khanna, "The Metrosexual Superpower"; Andrew Moravcsik, "The Quiet Superpower", *Newsweek International*, 17 June 2002, http://www.svet.lu.se/webcourses/webkurser/MEA_Europe_in_int_pol/Grundlaeggande/Articles/quiet.pdf.

1.3.2 Looking To Europe: The EU and New Zealand

As a former British colonial outpost in the Pacific Ocean, New Zealand has always looked towards Europe in its trade ventures, as well as its foreign policy direction, and from a cultural perspective. The majority of New Zealanders continue to identify themselves as having European ancestry,⁵¹ and many “...strongly identify with European traditions, tastes and cultures”.⁵² While an increasing political and economic focus on Asia in more recent times has given rise to a sense that Europe is less important for New Zealand than it has been in the past, New Zealand Prime Minister Helen Clark has argued that although there may have been “...a time in New Zealand foreign policy when it didn’t seem very fashionable in New Zealand to focus on Europe...Europe has always been of great importance to New Zealand, and always will be”.⁵³ The initial relationship between the EU and New Zealand was characterised by the entry of the United Kingdom (UK) into the Union in the 1970s, and by the importance of agricultural trade to the bilateral relationship. When the UK joined the EU in 1973, New Zealand’s significant agricultural trade to its former colonial ‘parent’ was diminished due to the system of quotas and tariffs that the UK’s trade was now subject to, however, despite dramatically reduced volumes of particularly dairy and sheep meat produce to the single European market since then,

⁵¹ In the most recent New Zealand census, 67.7 percent of New Zealanders identified themselves as *European* in ethnicity. The category ‘New Zealand European’ was the single largest ethnic category. The introduction of the category ‘New Zealander’ in the 2006 census meant that almost 500 000 New Zealanders who would formerly have been listed as ‘New Zealand European’ were instead listed in the new category. See: Statistics New Zealand, “Quick Stats about Culture and Identity, *New Zealand Census 2006*,

<http://www.stats.govt.nz/census/2006-census-data/quickstats-about-culture-identity/quickstats-about-culture-and-identity.htm?page=para017Master>.

⁵² Helen Clark, “The EU and New Zealand”, in *The Europa Lectures 2001-2006*, edited by Martin Holland (Christchurch: University of Canterbury Press, 2007), 38.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

and the often difficult negotiations to secure those volumes,⁵⁴ the EU has been – and remains – New Zealand’s second largest trading partner since 1993.⁵⁵

Table 1.1: New Zealand’s Exports to the EU (2005)⁵⁶

<i>Product</i>	<i>EU-25 exports (millions)</i>	<i>Total exports (millions)</i>	<i>EU-25 as % total exports</i>	<i>% of NZ’s exports to EU-25</i>	<i>Importance EU-25 market *</i>
Sheep meat	1450	2372	61	31	1
Fruit and vegetables	658	1881	35	14	1
Dairy products	530	5995	9	11	2
Machinery & electrical equipment	306	2834	11	7	3
Wool	274	800	34	6	1
Fish	261	1225	21	6	1
Hides and skins	215	527	41	5	1
Wine other beverages	197	605	33	4	1
Venison	168	221	76	4	1
Metal products	113	2168	5	2	-
Pharmaceuticals	70	342	20	2	-
Other manufactured	64	883	7	1	-
Photographical and optical	60	257	23	1	-
Agricultural	3563	15843	22	77	1
Non-agricultural	1064	13631	8	23	4
Total	4627	29474	16	100	2
<i>Note: All exports which constituted more than one percent of New Zealand’s exports to the EU-25 were included in this table.</i>					
<i>* - indicates information not available.</i>					

While the relationship has sometimes been turbulent – most recently strained over a crisis over the European Commission’s decision to ban New Zealand butter imports to the EU in 2006⁵⁷ – it is a critical one, with the EU accounting for around 16 percent of New Zealand’s total foreign trade. As can be seen in Table 1.1, the primary New

⁵⁴ New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Europe: Overview of Relations*, <http://www.mfat.govt.nz/Foreign-Relations/Europe/0-eu-overview.php>.

⁵⁵ Matthew Gibbons and Martin Holland, “Friends Reunited? New Zealand and the European Union”, *NCRE Research Series* 6, 2006, 6.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁵⁷ Fran O’Sullivan, “Butterfingers over EU Ban”, *The New Zealand Herald*, 19 July 2006.

Zealand exports to the EU continue to be agricultural products (67 percent of all New Zealand exports to the EU are agricultural), but the EU is also an important market for New Zealand's machinery and electrical products, and it is hoped by some in the commerce sector of New Zealand that due to the relative wealth of the European market that there is potential to be harnessed for value-added products and New Zealand's growing innovative, high-tech, manufacturing sector.⁵⁸ In the services sector, the EU Member States are also an important source of tourism for New Zealand, accounting for 22 percent of New Zealand's total tourist numbers in 2005.⁵⁹

In addition to the strong economic ties between the two countries, New Zealand and the EU are frequently aligned on foreign policy matters. As Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighbourhood Policy Benita Ferrero-Waldner recently noted of the two partners, "[w]e share the same goals and values with regard to the respect for human rights, democracy and peace and stability. This is the sound base not only of our relationship but also of our cooperation in a range of issues".⁶⁰ New Zealand shares the emphasis by the EU on the importance of a strong and effective multilateral world system, and respect for the rule of law, and the two partners maintain a particular focus on securing and maintaining stability in the Asia-Pacific region.⁶¹ As mentioned above, the EU is the world's largest development assistance donor, and in the Pacific region its contributions to humanitarian and development aid are second only to those of Australia.⁶² It plays a role in the Pacific

⁵⁸ Vaughan Yarwood, "The Opportunities of an Open Europe", *Management Magazine*, November 1993, Cited in: Matthew Gibbons and Martin Holland, "Friends Reunited?", 5.

⁵⁹ Matthew Gibbons and Martin Holland, "Friends Reunited?", 6.

⁶⁰ European Commission, "European Union and New Zealand Set Out New Agenda for Bilateral Relations", 1.

⁶¹ Benita Ferrero-Waldner, "The European Union and New Zealand", 7.

⁶² Natalia Chaban and Martin Holland, "Introduction: Research Rationale, Theoretical Underpinnings and Methodological Considerations", in *Public, Elite and Media Perceptions of the EU in Asia-Pacific: Conceptualizing EU Public Diplomacy*, edited Natalia Chaban and Martin Holland, (London: Routledge, 2007).

Forum process⁶³ in which New Zealand is also a key player, as well as being involved in dialogue with Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) members and in the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) process. Recognition of the continued challenges associated with peace in the Pacific have led to the EU and New Zealand working to establish a more intensive dialogue on the process, with a view to collaboration between the two on “preventative diplomacy, conflict prevention, and post-conflict political and social restoration”.⁶⁴ Additionally, both the EU and New Zealand are signatories to the Kyoto Protocol, and share a commitment to reducing global carbon emissions and ensuring sustainable energy into the future.⁶⁵

Formally, relations between the EU and New Zealand were set out in the 1999 Joint Declaration on Relations, which established the political-level consultation processes, as well as recognising the future direction of cooperation. In 2004, in view of the impending EU enlargement, the two partners reaffirmed their commitment to positive cooperation by establishing an agenda for future engagement.⁶⁶ In the same year, the EU indicated its commitment to the relationship by opening a Commission Delegation Office in Wellington, and New Zealand – recognising a need to maintain appropriate visibility in the enlarged Union – opened a new embassy in Poland the following year. A new Framework Agreement is due to be signed in September 2007, which will formalise the future EU-New Zealand relationship.

Despite the breadth and diversity of the EU-New Zealand relationship, however, the New Zealand public have been found to be largely unaware of its extent. A nationwide survey of the New Zealand public, conducted by the National Centre for

⁶³ European Commission, “The EU and the Pacific Islands: A Strengthened Partnership”, *Monthly Topic*, (June 2006), http://ec.europa.eu/development/body/press-forum/monthly-topics/monthly_topic_june_2006_en.pdf, 1.

⁶⁴ European Commission, “New Zealand and the European Union: Priorities for Future Cooperation”, 2004, 3, http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/new_zealand/docs/agenda_coop_04.pdf.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶⁶ European Commission, “European Union and New Zealand Set Out New Agenda for Bilateral Relations”.

Research on Europe (NCRE) at the University of Canterbury in 2004 as part of a larger trans-national research project,⁶⁷ gauged the perceptions of New Zealanders towards this important domestic partner. The survey revealed that when asked to name New Zealand's most important international partners, the EU was only noted by 12 percent of respondents, who instead perceived that Australia (78 percent of respondents), the USA (31 percent), Asia (31 percent), the UK independent of the EU (26 percent) and China (21.5 percent) were all more important to New Zealand than the EU at present.⁶⁸ Although the EU's importance in the future for New Zealand was not regarded as diminishing – indeed, the majority of respondents perceived the relationship to be steady⁶⁹ – the results of this survey highlighted a clear lack of awareness of the actual importance of the EU in the minds of New Zealanders.

The survey also assessed how New Zealanders regarded the EU in general; what images they associated with the Union. To assess this, the study asked respondents to list the three thoughts that spontaneously came to mind when they heard the words, “the European Union” (Figure 1.1). As is clear from Figure 1.1, New Zealanders primarily associated the EU with matters of economic importance for their country, with trading issues accounting for four of the ten most common spontaneous images of the EU (including the two leading images: trade related issues and the common currency). There was some, albeit limited, awareness of the EU's involvement in other areas, however, with the EU as a political power, and other politically-motivated images featuring in some respondents' perceptions, as well the EU in terms of its importance to the New Zealand tourism sector.

⁶⁷ “The Asia-Pacific Perceptions Project: Public, Elite and Media Perceptions of the European Union in the Asia-Pacific Region”, was a trans-national research project conducted in Australia, New Zealand, South Korea and Thailand from 2004-2006, and coordinated by the National Centre for Research on Europe at the University of Canterbury in New Zealand. It was under the auspices of this project that this particular thesis was conducted, and the project itself is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

⁶⁸ Natalia Chaban and Martin Holland, “The EU Through the Eyes of the Asia-Pacific: Public Perceptions and Media Representations”, *NCRE Research Series* 4, 2005, 24.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 28.

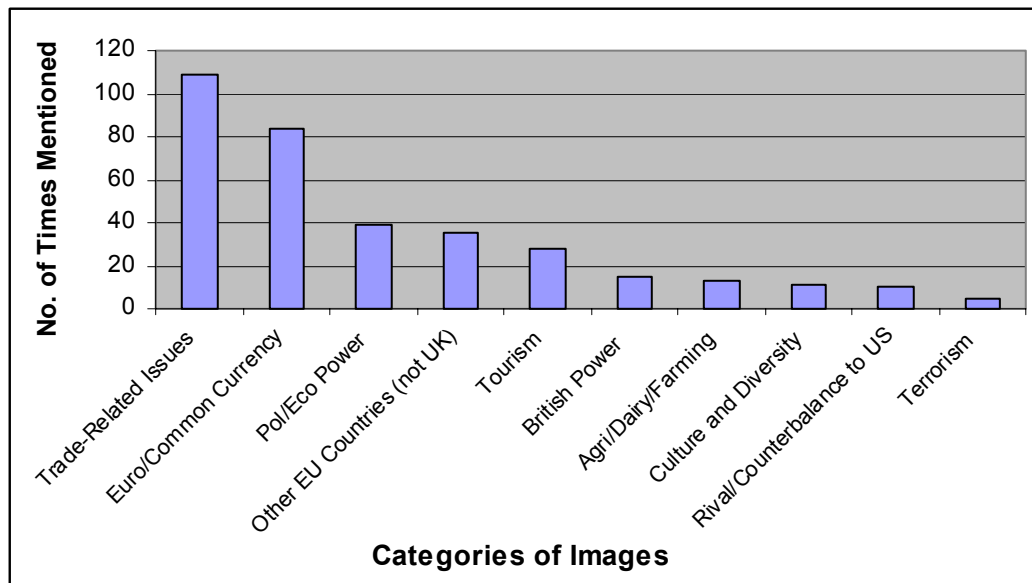


Figure 1.1: Spontaneous Images of the EU among New Zealanders⁷⁰

The extent of the relations between the EU and New Zealand politically, economically and culturally, as well as the seemingly limited awareness that the New Zealand public has regarding the EU's importance for their country, makes New Zealand an intriguing case study from which to assess the external perceptions of the EU. Why is the New Zealand public unaware of the EU's importance for their country? What information is the public of New Zealand receiving about that EU? As a country with a largely European heritage, which trades extensively with the Union and aligns itself to the EU on foreign policy matters, New Zealand is strongly engaged with Europe, and yet until this study, there has been only one study which has examined how the EU is represented within New Zealand's public discourses.⁷¹ Thus, this thesis provides a unique case study of the EU's representation within the New Zealand television news sphere, and as such, it contributes to the broader international void of studies on external perceptions of the EU. In light of the EU's preoccupation with

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁷¹ Natalia Chaban, "Rediscovering Europe: New Zealand Public, Media and Elite Perceptions of the European Union", <http://www.europe.canterbury.ac.nz/research/nzidentity1.shtml>.

‘reflecting’ on its own communication patterns, it is also particularly topical to examine how it is communicated externally.

1.4 DELIMITING THE STUDY

This is a study of how the television news media of New Zealand framed the European Union during 2004. The thesis recognises that the television news media plays a particularly important role in influencing the knowledge and perceptions of people when reporting on foreign matters. Given this dependence, the particular news production strategies which are employed, namely the selection and framing of certain aspects of the daily objective reality to disseminate through television news bulletins, are all the more important. Framing is understood in this thesis, using Entman’s definition, as the selection and presentation of some aspects of a news ‘event’ in order to make them more salient in a news item.⁷² Because there is so little existing research on how the EU is framed in the news media outside of its borders, it was important that this study approached the analysis of television news imagery of the EU from as wide a perspective as possible. The thesis is thus explorative, and is intended to be broadly replicable at a later date and in different locations. As such, the thesis makes an important step towards laying the groundwork for future endeavours in the studies of the EU’s external images, currently an overlooked area in EU external policy making.

Television news was chosen as the medium for analysis because it is understood to be the primary information source for New Zealanders when seeking information on the EU.⁷³ While newspapers remain a key source of information for the general public, and the online news media continue to threaten the dominance of both television and

⁷² Robert Entman, “Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm”, *Journal of Communication* 43, No. 4 (1993), 52.

⁷³ Natalia Chaban and Martin Holland, “The EU Through the Eyes of the Asia-Pacific”, 48.

the press, the very ubiquity and popularity of television news makes it particularly influential, especially in matters of foreign news.⁷⁴ As New Zealand has only two nation-wide free-to-air television networks which screen daily news bulletins, both were included in this study, and in particular each network's prime-time news bulletin screening nightly at 6pm was selected. Although other news programmes may also provide information to the public about the EU, it was considered that prime-time news bulletins are the most widely viewed news programmes, and thus the analysis was limited to just these two programmes, in order to pragmatically facilitate the study's execution.

2004 was selected as the year for monitoring because it was considered to be a year of fundamental importance for the EU, with many high profile developments during the year. It was assumed that because of these events, which included, for example, the accession of ten new Member States, elections for the EP and the appointment of a new Commission, that the EU's visibility in the international news media would be enhanced during the year.

In order to heighten the validity of the study, and to allow further generalisation of the findings, the thesis also incorporated a degree of comparative analysis, by positioning the New Zealand television news findings against those from Australia, South Korea and Thailand. This was made possible due to the thesis being undertaken as part of the broader Asia-Pacific Perceptions (APP) project coordinated by the NCRE.⁷⁵

The major research question that this thesis aims to answer is:

- How is the EU framed in the television news media of New Zealand, an external 'Other' of the EU?

⁷⁴ Doris Graber, *Processing the News: How People Tame the Information Tide*, Second Edition (White Plains, New York: Longman, 1988).

⁷⁵ "The Asia-Pacific Perceptions Project: Public, Elite and Media Perceptions of the European Union in the Asia-Pacific Region", <http://www.europe.canterbury.ac.nz/research/apidentity1.shtml>. The APP project is discussed at length in Chapter 3.

Several additional sub-questions are also posed, in order to fully explore the primary research question:

- What are the essential content features of the EU's image on New Zealand television news?
- What are the in-depth visual and textual features of the EU's representation on New Zealand television news?
- How does the New Zealand television news framing of the EU compare with that of the wider Asia-Pacific region?

Finally, this study also incorporated a newsroom perspective in order to account for the particular images of the EU that were identified throughout the media analysis, and in doing so, a final sub-question was posed:

- How does the framing of the EU relate to the dominant values and processes of foreign news production in New Zealand?

In addressing these questions, the thesis aims to provide a detailed case study of how the EU is communicated externally.

1.5 CHAPTER SYNOPSIS

Chapter 2 continues the discussion begun in this chapter of the context in which this study was undertaken. In particular, the chapter explores the academic debate on the foundations of the EU's crisis of legitimacy, including the issues of the democratic deficit, the lack of a cohesive EU identity as well as exploring the notions of an EU communications deficit. The chapter then moves to a discussion of the medium through which this study aims to 'view' the EU: the television news media, exploring the ability of television news to influence the perceptions of the public towards foreign actors like the EU. Finally the chapter presents an overview of the specific

New Zealand television news context, outlining the key characteristics of that context, and how they might impact on the presentation of the EU within that news space.

Chapter 3 details the theoretical and methodological approach adopted in the thesis. In particular the chapter outlines the theoretical assumptions which underlie the research, namely that the language of the news media – and in this study the television news media in particular – plays a vital role in shaping people's images and experience of the world outside their immediate experience. It also outlines the multiple methodologies employed in the study; specifically, content analysis of the television news texts, a visual content analysis of the images within the news items, comparative analysis of the New Zealand findings against those of three other Asia-Pacific countries, and elite interviews with New Zealand's newsmakers.

Chapter 4 begins the empirical analysis of the thesis, and in particular presents the formal features of the EU's representations on New Zealand television news during 2004. The chapter focuses on the visibility and dynamics of the EU's coverage, as well as more in-depth content features such as the focus of the news items, the various EU representatives that featured, the topics and primary frames of EU action, as well as the evaluation of that action. Continuing this analysis, Chapter 5 provides a contextualisation of the previous chapter's findings by comparing the New Zealand results to those of three other countries in the Asia-Pacific: Australia, South Korea and Thailand. The chapter focuses on similar aspects of the analysis to Chapter 4, and aims to reveal whether the New Zealand case was exceptional or in fact was broadly replicated in the other countries.

Building on one of the key findings of Chapter 5 – namely that Australian and New Zealand television news bulletins were found to present very similar pictures of the EU during 2004 – Chapter 6 investigates a detailed case study of one particular theme of EU news coverage. Enlargement was found to be one of the most common topics addressed during the monitored year, and the chapter investigates the deeper

metaphoric imagery of the enlarging EU within the news texts, and also the visual images that were identified. In presenting a more detailed analysis, Chapter 6 aims to reveal any country-specific peculiarities in the EU portrayals, as well as the leading imagery associated with EU enlargement. Chapter 7 presents the second case study in the thesis. It considers the other leading theme of the New Zealand and Australian EU coverage, the EU as an international actor, and undertakes a similar analysis of the metaphoric and visual imagery associated with the theme.

In attempting to account for the various trends that emerged in the empirical media analysis, Chapter 8 presents the findings of a series of in-depth interviews with New Zealand's media elite. The chapter covers firstly the personal perceptions of the newsmakers towards the EU, and the importance they perceive it to have for New Zealand, and secondly investigates the various production and editorial processes which may contribute to the specific image of the EU that was identified in the empirical media analysis.

Finally, the concluding chapter brings together the various findings and discusses the implications of these trends both for the EU as it continues its quest for greater legitimacy and public recognition, as well as for New Zealand. The chapter presents a range of recommendations aimed at both the EU and the New Zealand television news media in order to address the findings of the thesis. Finally, the chapter concludes by noting the scope for future research which may build on the foundation that this thesis provides.

Ultimately, it is anticipated that this thesis will provide a novel insight into the way that the EU is represented and communicated externally, in order to contribute to the ongoing challenges it faces within its borders. In doing so, the thesis addresses a void in the existing research on the perceptions of the EU, and it is hoped by doing so this will enable the EU to strengthen its global role, as well as the relationship between New Zealand and its key counterpart, the European Union.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE OVERVIEW

“Intellectual boundaries are necessary for researchers to make sense of a topic of study and for a cumulative advance in understanding a research problem”.
Dearing and Rogers, 1996, 16⁷⁶

As Dearing and Rogers note above, delineating the scope and focus of a research endeavour is a fundamental component of the investigation, and it is necessary also to situate the research within the wider literature in the field. This thesis is broadly positioned between two scholarly fields: literature on the legitimacy and democratic foundations of the European Union; and dialogue on the role and importance of the news media, particularly the television news media, in contemporary societies. It is argued that the European integration process can benefit from studies which bridge the two fields, as the representations of the EU in the news media, and particularly the television news media of its external partners, provide valuable insights into the perceptions and understandings of the EU both inside and outside of its borders. This chapter will explore the relevant literature before moving to a discussion of the specific television news environment in New Zealand.

⁷⁶ James Dearing and Everett Rogers, *Agenda Setting: Communication Concepts* 6, (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 1996), 16.

2.1 A DEFICIENT EU?

LEGITIMACY, DEMOCRACY, COMMUNICATION AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

The 2004 and successive EU enlargements, and, more recently, the failure of the constitutional referenda in France and the Netherlands, have brought to the fore discussions on the future direction of the EU, and the challenges the integration project faces. Among these are three phenomena widely referred to as the ‘deficits’ of the EU: a *legitimacy deficit*, a *democratic deficit* and a related *communication deficit*. The three are fundamentally interconnected. Typically, reference to the democratic deficit is made when discussing the apparent lack of democratic mechanisms available for ordinary citizens to hold the EU institutions to account. This lack of EU-level access is argued to be compounded by the complexity of the EU and its institutions, as well as a lack of clear and effective communication both from the EU and about the EU, so that citizens are unclear about not only their rights and obligations within the EU, but also about the EU’s very purpose. Largely as a consequence of these factors, EU citizens have shown an increasing apathy towards the integration project, as witnessed by the consistently low turn-outs at European Parliament (EP) elections, and the failure to ratify the Constitutional Treaty, for example. Importantly though, it has been noted that this apathy extends to all political activity that European citizens are engaged in, at the national level and at the supranational level.⁷⁷ This apathy is exacerbated by the combination of an apparent lack of democracy and poor political communication, which are also considered to be the foundations of the EU’s legitimacy crisis, whereby its functions and role are not legitimated by their citizens. Although their very existence is often debated, each of these inter-connected developments has been widely discussed in the literature, and has also become the focus of various institutional reforms. Scholarship on each of the three deficits is explored in further detail below, with the key arguments of each discussed. The role

⁷⁷ Anna Mikalski, “Evolution of Values and Deep-Seated Attitudes in Europe”, (Round table presentation, *A Sustainable Project for Europe*, Athens, 2003).

that the news media and, in particular the television news media, might play in addressing these deficits will also be considered because as the chief information providers for the European public, the news media are argued to shape an image and idea of the EU which may in turn be capable of contributing to the legitimization of EU governance and thus to overcoming these perceived deficits. Finally, this section will examine the literature exploring the particular benefits of an external perspective on the EU, and how such a focus might contribute to the legitimization of the European project.

2.1.1 A Crisis of Legitimacy?

The concept of the *legitimacy* of governance has been debated in political and academic circles for centuries. For Aristotle the law “rightly constituted”⁷⁸ was the legitimate authority in a political society.⁷⁹ Many centuries after Aristotle’s conception of legitimacy, Hobbes argued that the sovereign of a state could be considered legitimate only if consent to govern had been granted to them by the public through a social contract.⁸⁰ In more modern times, German political, social and economic philosopher Max Weber is often cited as a starting point for contemporary investigations of legitimacy. Though Weber’s original work focused primarily on economic and social legitimation, his assertion that “power relations [are] legitimate where those involved in them...believe them to be so”⁸¹ has triggered countless similarly-minded legitimacy theories connecting Weber’s philosophy to political governance and legitimacy. Like Weber, Lipset believed that legitimacy derived from the “...capacity of the [political] system to engender and maintain the belief that the

⁷⁸ Aristotle, *The Politics of Aristotle*, I, 1252a, Ernest Baker (trans.), (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), cited in Donald Tannenbaum and David Schultz, *Inventors of Ideas: An Introduction to Western Political Philosophy*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 53.

⁷⁹ Donald Tannenbaum and David Schultz, *Inventors of Ideas*.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 156-157.

⁸¹ Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968), 213, Cited in: David Beetham, *The Legitimation of Power* (London: MacMillan, 1991), 6.

existing political institutions are the most appropriate ones for society”.⁸² However, Lipset also emphasised the importance of value fit in a political system; that the people in a society will only believe in the appropriateness of a system if its values correspond with their own.⁸³

Although this notion of a value fit connects with that of Beetham’s approach to legitimacy, Beetham has also argued strongly against what he feels has been a misinterpretation of Weber’s notion of legitimacy. Beetham claimed that the focus on Weber’s ‘belief in legitimacy’ idea has resulted in a failure to separate the belief in legitimacy from the *reasons* for those beliefs.⁸⁴ Effectively, Beetham argued, when assessing the legitimacy of a political system, “[w]e are making an assessment of the degree of congruence, or lack of it, between a given system of power and beliefs, [and the] values and expectations that provide its justification”.⁸⁵ The author provided a definition of what he believed were the three fundamental dimensions of legitimacy, these being: the conformity of the political system to the established societal rules, the justification of those rules according to the widely held beliefs, and, the expression of consent or actions indicating consent by the subordinates.⁸⁶ This combination of characteristics arguably provides a useful catalogue for assessing the legitimacy of any political regime, whether at a national level, or, as in the case of the EU, at a supra-national level. It also connects logically to a later discussion by Beetham and Lord, who utilised Beetham’s original legitimacy framework and applied it to modern liberal democracies. From the original tripartite legitimisation catalogue from Beetham, the two authors established a list of requirements for liberal states to be regarded as legitimated: they must have popular sovereignty – this generally coming from the election of government by ‘the people’; the purposes or intent of the government must

⁸² Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*, (New, York: Doubleday 1960), 77.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ David Beetham, *The Legitimation of Power*, 11.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 15-16.

be to protect the rights of the populace; and there must be popular authorisation or consent for the government (although the authors noted that in the case of an elected democratic regime, the act of election is generally sufficient to meet this criteria and it is unlikely that further authorising actions will be made).⁸⁷

Eriksen and Fossum added to this catalogue of legitimacy requirements the importance of a constitution for an entity like the EU. The authors argue that the EU, with its diversity of involved actors needs a constitution to entrench the rights process and procedures of its governance. As such, EU legitimacy would then be derived from “a set of constitutional rights and procedures which protect citizens’ autonomy and ensure public deliberation”.⁸⁸

Lord noted that the debate about a legitimate foundation of governance for the EU was not always intimately connected to integration debates.⁸⁹ Indeed, the largely functionalist nature of the EU at its inception; that is, integration after World War II as a form of cooperation between nations in areas of functional or technical expertise in order to promote inter-continental cooperation and thus prevent further conflicts,⁹⁰ had meant that there was little need of extensively democratic mechanisms.⁹¹ Additionally Lord noted the initial importance of indirect legitimation through the nation-states of the EU, which for a period was considered to be sufficient, since the governments of those countries were themselves considered legitimate.⁹² However, as

⁸⁷ David Beetham and Christopher Lord, *Legitimacy and the European Union*, 6-8.

⁸⁸ Erik Oddvar Eriksen and John Erik Fossum, “Europe in Search of its Legitimacy: Assessing Strategies of Legitimation”, *ARENA Working Papers*, WP 02/38, 2002, http://www.arena.uio.no/publications/working-papers2002/papers/02_38.xml, 28.

⁸⁹ Christopher Lord, “Legitimacy, Democracy and the EU: when abstract questions become practical policy problems”, *Economic and Social Research Council*, Policy Paper 03/00, 2000, Available <http://www.one-europe.ac.uk/cgi-bin/esrc/world/db.cgi/publications.htm>, accessed 9 July 2007, 4.

⁹⁰ Laura Cram, Desmond Dinan and Neill Nugent, “Reconciling Theory and Practice”, in Cram, Dinan and Nugent, *Developments in the European Union*, (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1999), 8.

⁹¹ Christopher Lord, “Legitimacy, Democracy and the EU”, 4.

⁹² *Ibid.*

the competences of the EU grew, so too did the calls for re-evaluations of those justifications, which were increasingly seen as insufficient. Lord noted that currently,

[t]here are many reasons to expect legitimacy to be an acute problem for the EU. It is a new and unfamiliar political system; it has substantial powers to go into the nooks and crannies of member societies; its rules over-ride those made by national institutions; it takes decisions that affect ordinary lives; it demands sacrifices, sometimes with uncertain long-term reward; it takes from some in order to give to others; it affects deeply held values, including basic feelings of identity; and it is a large political system that often seems physically distant to its citizens.⁹³

The distance of the citizens from the institutions of the EU has at its heart one of the key critiques of the legitimacy of EU governance. Eriksen and Fossum argued above that the assurance of public deliberation through an EU constitution is an essential aspect of the Union's legitimation. However, claims of an EU legitimacy crisis often stem from the idea that there is considered to be a distinct absence of such public deliberation at the EU-level, which functions to enhance the sense of distance EU citizens are said to feel from the Union. Gerhards, for example, has argued that the lack of public deliberation on matters of EU integration, economy and politics has provided the basis, if not the cause, of the EU's democratic deficit. Such deliberation, Gerhards claimed, is the foundation of legitimacy conferral,⁹⁴ and without it, the EU fails to achieve popular legitimation. Habermas, too, has pointed to the importance of rational discourse on EU matters,⁹⁵ and similarly, Gaffney has emphasised the need for broad public discourse on EU matters. Gaffney's argument stressed in particular the need for *European*-level dialogue, rather than the nationally-oriented ones which currently prevail.⁹⁶

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Jürgen Gerhards, translated and cited in Christoph Meyer, "Political Legitimacy and the Invisibility of Politics", 622.

⁹⁵ Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action* (Volume 2), (Boston MA: Beacon, 1984), in *Legitimacy and the European Union: The Contested Polity*, edited by Thomas Banchoff and Mitchell Smith, (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 5.

⁹⁶ John Gaffney, "Political Rhetoric and the Legitimation of the European Union", in *Legitimacy and the European Union: The Contested Polity*, edited by Thomas Banchoff and Mitchell Smith, 199-211.

Although, as discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis, the EU has recently taken significant steps towards instigating just such an EU-level dialogue with EU citizens, seen for example in initiatives like the Debate Europe online forum and indeed the Constitutional convention itself,⁹⁷ the failure of the Constitutional referenda in France and the Netherlands indicates that these efforts are thus far proving insufficient for fostering a productive Europe-wide debate on the future direction of the EU.

While the scholarship discussed above has dealt with largely institutional conceptions of political legitimacy in the EU, other authors have noted the lack of public identification with the European project, and have argued that this contributes to the legitimacy deficit, because, they contend, if there is no connection to it, citizens feel no ownership and thus do not confer their consent to the project. Bruter, for example, has connected the notion of political legitimacy – particularly in the case of new polities like the EU – to that of a political identity. “Every time a new political community has been created”, Bruter stated, “the legitimacy of the contract that links it to its citizens and gives it its fundamental institutional acceptability requires the creation of a new political identity”.⁹⁸ Lucarelli, too, has emphasised the importance of including notions of EU identity in the legitimacy debate. The author noted that, “[p]olitical identity is closely linked to legitimacy as this cannot be achieved without some knowledge of how and why the ‘body politic’ (in the EU’s case a mix of individual and local and national bodies) keeps together, thinking and acting (to an extent) as a ‘we’”.⁹⁹

⁹⁷European Commission, “Democratic Deficit”, http://europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/democratic_deficit_en.htm.

⁹⁸ Michael Bruter, “On What Citizens Mean by Feeling ‘European’: Perceptions of News, Symbols and Borderless-ness”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30, No. 1, (2004), 23.

⁹⁹ Sonia Lucarelli, “Political Identity and Legitimacy in the Politics of the European Union”, (Panel Introduction, *ECPR Conference*, Nicosia, 2006), <http://www.essex.ac.uk/ECPR/events/jointsessions/nicosia/outlines/ws17.pdf>, 2.

Bruter's study in fact found evidence that this political identification of EU citizens with the EU is beginning to emerge to some degree,¹⁰⁰ however others, like Banchoff and Smith, have challenged altogether the conventional notions of a legitimacy crisis in the EU based on the perceived lack of identification of citizens with the EU.¹⁰¹ The two authors argue that such standards are derived from national spheres and as such are not appropriate to the supranational EU forum. They claim that the integration process has created significant and various forms of representation, and while the citizens of Europe may not identify strongly with the EU, they do recognise it as a legitimate framework for politics.¹⁰²

The notion of identification with the European project is a contentious one, with little agreement on the nature or indeed the desirability of such an identity,¹⁰³ as the argument of Banchoff and Smith denotes. However, the concept of identity itself has many manifestations. Bruter's investigations, for example, examined the existence of two types of identities – a culturally conceived identity, and a civic one. The former refers to the feelings of belonging that one citizen has towards a political group, feelings that are generated through a sense of shared cultural, social, religious or ethnic values. The latter refers to a sense of relationship and identification with a political entity; in this case, for example, between EU citizens and the organisational structures of the European Communities. Bruter clarified the distinction between the two notions thus:

...conceiving [of] Europe as a cultural identity presumably implies a reference to Europe as a continent or civilisation that stretches from the Atlantic to the Ural [while] conceiving Europe as a 'civic' identity would imply a reference to the European Union.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Thomas Banchoff and Mitchell Smith, *Legitimacy and the European Union*, 2.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ See for example: Jon Erik Fossum, "Identity-Politics in the European Union", *ARENA Working Papers*, WP 01/17, 2001, http://www.arena.uio.no/publications/wp01_17.htm#_ftnref2.

¹⁰⁴ Michael Bruter, *Citizens of Europe? The Emergence of a Mass European Identity*, (Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 13.

Others, too, have shared Bruter's emphasis on the importance of a distinction between different forms of political identity. The cultural, or communitarian¹⁰⁵ identity as it has also been called, with its emphasis on shared cultural symbols and heritage is arguably the most contentious of identity conceptions, as it most closely reflects the nature of established national identities which are considered to be inherent and fixed, and thus do not allow the inclusion of those not born into such an identity. The idea that a European identity of this nature could exist necessarily indicates a diminishing of the many unique national identities within the EU, and it has been argued that, "[i]t is neither possible nor desirable to level out the national identities of member nations, nor melt them down into a 'Nation of Europe'".¹⁰⁶

In contrast to many of the more difficult aspects of the cultural identity, a largely civic, or cosmopolitan¹⁰⁷ EU identity is sometimes argued to be a preferable path for developing a sufficient political identity within the Union so as to contribute to the legitimacy of the European project. As Cerutti has noted:

Making the European institutions fully legitimate and accountable requires the development of political identity in a shape which is *different* from both national and cultural identity and is not merely opposite to diversity and change. Its contents can be seen in a specific set of constitutional values and principles, including a model of social relations, an international standing and a peculiar and unprecedented system of governance.¹⁰⁸

This civic conception of identity is considered to be a chosen rather than inherited one, and centres on the shared acceptance of specific values such as a belief in

¹⁰⁵ Christopher Lord, "Legitimacy, Democracy and the EU". See also: Richard Bellamy, and Alex Warleigh, "From an Ethics of Integration to an Ethics of Participation: Citizenship and the Future of the European Union", *Millennium* 27, (1998), 447-70.

¹⁰⁶ Jürgen Habermas, *The Postnational Constellation*, (London: Polity Press, 2001), 99.

¹⁰⁷ Christopher Lord, "Legitimacy, Democracy and the EU". See also: Richard Bellamy, and Alex Warleigh, "From an Ethics of Integration to an Ethics of Participation.

¹⁰⁸ Furio Cerutti, "A Political Identity of the Europeans?", *Thesis Eleven* 72, No. 1, (2003), 26-45. Emphasis added.

democracy, the rule of law, human rights and a commitment to peace.¹⁰⁹ In this sense, a largely civic EU identity could be seen as being held in addition to a national political identity. Thus, linking legitimacy and identity in studying the EU has been argued to be, “crucial both for theoretical and political reasons. For a polity in the making such as the EU, questions like “who are we?”, “what do we stand for?” and “what gives legitimacy to our institutions?” are not avoidable anymore”.¹¹⁰

The inclusion of public involvement so prominently in the debate regarding the EU’s legitimacy, necessarily draws attention to the notion of EU accountability. As the EU has grown – in both size and competence – so too have the critiques of the EU and its assumed role, and the apparent lack of accountability that the institutions of the EU have back to the citizens of Europe for whom they legislate. These critiques have quickly given rise to extensive debates on the supposed democratic deficit of the EU, whereby it is considered to have a lack of democratic mandate from the public, and as a consequence is considered to lack legitimacy.

¹⁰⁹ Christopher Lord, “Legitimacy, Democracy and the EU”. 9.

¹¹⁰ Sonia Lucarelli, “Political Identity and Legitimacy in the Politics of the European Union”, 2.

2.1.2 Democracy and the EU: Deficient or Sufficient?

Although omnipresent in the field of EU studies, and indeed in the broader political sphere of Europe, the concept of the *democratic deficit* is not unproblematic, and the debate about the accuracy of this deficient-EU portrayal rages on. Indeed, there is even contention about the very coining of the term. While it has been claimed by UK Liberal Democratic MEP Bill Newton Dunn in his pamphlet, *Why the Public Should be Worried by the EEC's Democratic Deficit*,¹¹¹ the term was officially introduced into EU discourse when the 1986 SEA included the objective, "to rectify the *democratic deficit* in the Community's decision-making process".¹¹² Though it is difficult to establish which usage of the term came first, it is now very firmly entrenched in EU political discourse. The literature on the democratic deficit divides broadly into two main camps; that which argues the EU suffers from a fundamental lack of democratic measures, and alternatively, that which defends the democratic structures of the EU as being sufficient.

Issues pertaining to the democratic foundations and legitimacy of the EU emerged prominently in the 1980s as the Union – then the European Economic Community – began to take steps towards further integration and specifically a greater political role. Countless critiques of the EU's democratic foundations have been subsequently made,¹¹³ and at times these have only added to the confusion about the subject. To

¹¹¹ Bill Newton Dunn, "Why the Public Should be Worried by the EEC's Democratic Deficit", *Discussion Paper for the European Parliament*, (London: European Democratic Group, 1986).

¹¹² European Parliament, "Developments up to the Treaty of Maastricht", E.II.a, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/facts_2004/1_1_2_en.htm.

¹¹³ As a brief example, see: Svein Anderson and Kjell Eliassen, *The European Union: How Democratic is It?*, (London: Sage, 1996); Richard Bellamy, "Still in Deficit: Rights, Regulation, and Democracy in the EU"; Robert Dahl, "Can International Organizations Be Democratic?"; Renaud Dehousse and Giandomenico Majone, "The Institutional Dynamics of European Integration: From the Single Act to the Maastricht Treaty", in *The Construction of Europe*, edited by Stephen Martin, (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1994); Vivien Schmidt, "Democracy in Europe; Fritz Sharpf, *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Philippe Schmitter, *How to Democratize the European Union...And Why Bother?* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000); William Wallace and Julie Smith, "Democracy or Technocracy? European Integration and the Problem of Popular Consent", *West European Politics* 18, No. 3, (1995).

address this, in 1995 Weiler and colleagues attempted to establish a “standard version” of the democratic deficit argument which they felt outlined the primary characteristics of the debate.¹¹⁴ The key features of their ‘vision’ were: the diminishing ability of each EU Member State to influence the policy process in the EU as the Union has grown in size and scope; an increase in the reach of the EU into areas of national and individual life that it is considered to have no symbolic right to be involved in; a perversion of the traditional balance of power in state politics, because at the EU level the Member State government executives assume the key legislative role; and the EP as an ineffective, distant and unrepresentative (manifested by low voter turn-out at EP elections and in the national orientation of those elections).¹¹⁵ Finally, Weiler *et al.* highlighted the general lack of accountability and transparency of EU governance mechanisms as key to the democratic problems of the Union.¹¹⁶

After a decade of further debate on the subject, Follesdal and Hix followed Weiler *et al.*’s lead and attempted a new ‘standard version’ of the democratic deficit. Despite extensive institutional changes since Weiler *et al.*’s attempt, their later interpretation almost mirrored that of the earlier work. The version advocated by Follesdal and Hix incorporated five essential characteristics. Firstly, the two authors claimed that EU integration has seen an increase in executive power and a consequent decrease in the control over that power by national governments. Additionally, despite various treaty reforms aimed at rectifying the problem, the authors viewed the EP as still legislatively weak, and thirdly, the EP elections were argued to be national in nature, instead of ‘European’. The perceived distance of the EP from its constituency was another component of the democratic inadequacies of the EU, according to Follesdal

¹¹⁴ Joseph Weiler, Ulrich Haltern and Franz Mayer, “European Democracy and Its Critique: Five Uneasy Pieces”.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 3-5.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

and Hix, and finally, the authors claimed that the EU's policies were not supported by a majority of European citizens.¹¹⁷

One common feature of the two critiques or versions is the role and importance of the EP. As the supposed 'democratic arm' of the EU, the EP has been the source of much attention in democratic deficit scholarship. Some authors, like Neunreither, have focused their accounts of the EU's democratic problems solely on the role of the EP and its operational relationship with the parliaments of the Member States.¹¹⁸ While Neunreither did not believe that a parliamentary deficit – that is, the argument that the EP does not have the legislative capacity to effectively check the balance of power at the EU level – was the sole basis of the EU's democratic or legitimacy deficits,¹¹⁹ the author did claim that the EP would be the key to reducing these problems, if it was able to cooperate effectively with the national parliaments. Indeed, Neunreither claimed that there was a distinct and fundamental balance needed between the two parliamentary levels in the EU and that “the EP would benefit from an increased role of the national parliaments and that the national parliaments could greatly benefit from a number of facilities and offers of cooperation from the EP”.¹²⁰

In slightly different approach to those discussed above, Zoller's stance on the democratic deficit debate instead stressed that the problem stemmed from the fundamental fact that, “EU institutions exercise legislative powers over European citizens; these institutions are empowered to take ‘action that [has] the purpose and effect of altering the legal rights, duties and relations of persons’, without these persons having the conviction that these powers are legitimate.”¹²¹ Zoller's claim

¹¹⁷ Andreas Follesdal and Simon Hix, “Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU”.

¹¹⁸ Karlheinz Neunreither, “The Democratic Deficit of the European Union: Towards Closer Cooperation between the European Parliament and the National Parliaments”, *Government and Opposition* 29, No. 3, (1994).

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 300.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 313.

¹²¹ Elizabeth Zoller, “The Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe and the Democratic Legitimacy of the European Union”, *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, 12, No. 2, (2005), 393.

returned to rather Weberian notions, in that the author argued that it was largely European citizens' lack of belief in the EU institutions which caused them to feel that EU-level legislation was illegitimate. Without the support of the EU constituency, Zoller contended, the Union was democratically flawed.

Not all academics agree with Zoller and colleagues, however. A number of scholars have argued quite vocally that too much has been made of the democratic deficit of the EU, and that the EU is no less democratic than most nation-states. Two of the key proponents of this discussion are Majone and Moravcsik. Majone claimed that the standards by which European integration and its legitimacy are evaluated are flawed, and that there was an urgent need to reconsider these standards.¹²² Majone stated that the use of standards of democratic legitimacy that apply at a national level are only appropriate at an EU level if one accepts or assumes that economic integration will automatically filter through into deep political integration. However, the author himself believed that such a notion was not supported politically at the EU level or by the European public, and further, that it is not the only available conception of integration.¹²³ Instead, in an approach that arguably reflected the 'functionalist' intentions of the EU's founding fathers,¹²⁴ Majone advocated a 'regulatory model' of functionality, whereby EU institutions are delegated specific functions that can be better performed at the supranational level than they can be at the national level. If this more pragmatic concept is accepted as the best route for integration, then, according to Majone, the current levels of legitimacy are sufficient to justify EU policy-making.¹²⁵

Similarly, Moravcsik's rejection of the EU's democratic deficit centred its argument on a rejection of the standards used to assess the democratic legitimacy of the EU.

¹²² Giandomenico Majone, "Europe's 'Democratic Deficit'", 6.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹²⁴ Laura Cram, Desmond Dinan and Neill Nugent, "Reconciling Theory and Practice", in *Developments in the European Union*, edited by Laura Cram, Desmond Dinan and Neill Nugent, 9.

¹²⁵ Giandomenico Majone, "Europe's 'Democratic Deficit'", 5, 28.

Moravcsik argued that the standards on which most analyses of the EU's democratic capabilities are founded are too idealistic and that against them, most national democracies would not fare well. The author claimed that many criticisms of the EU's policy-making fail to fully understand the delicate and "symbiotic"¹²⁶ relationship that exists between the EU and its Member State governments; a relationship that Moravcsik described as "a division of labor in which commonly delegated functions tend to be carried out by the EU, while those functions that inspire and induce popular participation remain largely national [*sic*]"¹²⁷ While Moravcsik conceded that there were some problematic aspects of the EU policy-making structures,¹²⁸ he ultimately argued:

[The] constitutional checks and balances, indirect democratic control via national governments, and the increasing powers of the European Parliament are sufficient to assure that the EU policy-making is, in nearly all cases, clean, transparent, effective, and politically responsive to the demands of European citizens.¹²⁹

While Majone and Moravcsik's arguments are the most widely cited in the case against the democratic deficit, Zweifel has also made an interesting contribution to the debate. Unlike the previous two authors, Zweifel did not challenge the basis on which EU democratic legitimacy is assessed, but instead his study provided systematic analysis using a variety of scales of democracy and comparing the EU to two "model" democracies: Switzerland and the United States.¹³⁰ In his analysis, Zweifel concluded that, in fact, when compared against these two models, the EU rated rather favourably, particularly in a scale evaluating the distribution of power at the executive level, in which the EU scored more highly than the US did.¹³¹ In most other indicators,

¹²⁶ Andrew Moravcsik, "In Defence of the 'Democratic Deficit'", 605.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 622

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 605.

¹³⁰ Thomas Zweifel, "...Who is Without Sin Cast the First Stone: the EU's Democratic Deficit in Comparison", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 9, No. 5, (2002).

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 832-833.

including features like the freedom of media and opposition political groups, as well as the freedom of EU citizens from gross socio-economic inequality, and a representative electoral system, the EU was found by Zweifel to fare easily as well as both Switzerland and the US.¹³² As such, the author argued that the EU did not suffer from a democratic deficit any more than do two of the world's most highly-regarded liberal democracies.¹³³ Similarly, though perhaps more petulantly, former EP President Pat Cox remarked on a recent EP election result that, "...the turnout across Europe was higher than in the last US presidential election, and I don't hear people questioning the legitimacy of the presidency of the United States".¹³⁴

While strong arguments are made by scholars on both sides of the debate, one aspect which few on the anti-democratic deficit side have addressed is the perception of EU citizens towards the Union, and how this might affect the legitimization process. The results of many Eurobarometer surveys have shown that the majority of European citizens do not perceive the institutions of the EU to be trustworthy,¹³⁵ and it could be argued that, whether this perception is based on reality or not, it is a critical contribution to the existence of democratic deficit, because while "...the belief [may be] irrational, the impact of that belief is anything but unreal".¹³⁶ As Zoller noted of the EU, "[t]his system of government is seriously undermined by the *perception* that its decisions come from a smug, sometimes arrogant bureaucracy that is accountable to no one".¹³⁷ In this regard then, it can be argued that the perceptions of the EU

¹³² *Ibid.*, 822-833.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ Pat Cox, cited in: Stephen Mulvey, "The EU's Democratic Challenge", *BBC News*, 21 November, 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/3224666.stm>.

¹³⁵ See for example: European Commission, "Public Opinion in the European Union", *Eurobarometer* 65, (July 2006), 18-25; European Commission, "Public Opinion in the European Union", *Eurobarometer* 66, (December 2006), 14-18.

¹³⁶ Joep Leerssen, *National Identity and National Stereotype*, 18 December 2003, <http://cf.hum.uva.nl/images/>.

¹³⁷ Elizabeth Zoller, "The Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe and the Democratic Legitimacy of the European Union", 393. Emphasis added.

citizens are ultimately important. Since it is perceived by its citizens as failing to meet standards of democracy, accountability and effectiveness, and, since, as discussed above, there is a lack or low-level of EU-identification, then as such the EU fails to be popularly legitimated.

In light of the focus of this thesis, one particularly noteworthy aspect of these democratic deficit debates is the apparent lack of past attention given by either side to the role that the media should, or indeed, do play in the democratic functioning of the EU. And yet, since the lack of citizens' belief in the democratic functioning of the EU is, as noted above, considered to be an essential factor in the EU's legitimation, and given that this citizenry has been found to gain the majority of their information about the EU from the news media – particularly from the television news media¹³⁸ - this thesis therefore argues that the news media play a key role in the legitimation of EU integration, and should be an important aspect of studies of this process. As Meyer has said, “[p]olitical communication contributes to the legitimacy of governance if it helps to increase citizens' influence on decision-making and to hold political actors accountable for their actions”.¹³⁹

2.1.3 Communicating the EU: The Sounds of Silence

While the concern and debate about the democratic legitimacy of the EU is a critical foundation for this thesis, other literary avenues must also be explored. In particular, there is a growing literature which stems from these legitimacy and democracy discussions and that focuses on the specific problems of the EU and its communication and how this has contributed to the apathy of EU citizens towards the Union.¹⁴⁰ This *communications deficit* scholarship has burgeoned in recent years, and

¹³⁸ European Commission, *Eurobarometer* 51–62, (1999-2004).

¹³⁹ Christoph Meyer, “Political Legitimacy and the Invisibility of Politics”, 622.

¹⁴⁰ In addition to the literature discussed here, the EU itself has begun to take note of its communication problems and has instigated various projects and reforms aimed at rectifying them. Many of these EU policies were discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis.

the deficit itself is broadly characterised by a lack of clear and effective information coming from the EU, combined with a plethora of actors who claim to speak on behalf of the Union, all of which are argued to make it overly difficult for EU citizens to be fully informed about the Union and its developments. Meyer's study is one of the founding arguments of the communications deficit literature. Meyer prominently debated the consequences of what he claimed was the EU's inability to effectively communicate in connection with the resignation of the Santer Commission in 1999.¹⁴¹ In his 1999 dialogue, Meyer argued that political communication is not a peripheral feature of democracy (as the EU seemed implicitly to believe at that time), but is instead a fundamental component of western democratic practices and must be regarded so by EU leaders.¹⁴² Using Meyer's argument, the communication deficit can be defined as a lack of an effective dialogue between the institutions of the EU and the constituency whom they represent, and it can be considered important because, as Bruter has noted, there is a distinct connection between effective political communication and the fostering of a strong political identity.¹⁴³ In this sense, the failure to communicate effectively with its citizens contributes to both the democratic deficit and legitimacy deficit arguments, because if they are not fully informed about the integration process, EU citizens arguably cannot fully engage or participate, and thus cannot fully confer legitimacy.

Meyer claimed that the failure of the Santer Commission to understand the power of the mass media was one of the key reasons for their eventual demise. It was this Commission's total "inability to come to terms with its communicative role in an

¹⁴¹ The Commission headed by Jacques Santer was forced to resign *en masse* prior to the end of their term in office after extensive allegations of corruption and fraud. See: Angelina Topan, "The Resignation of the Santer-Commission: the Impact of 'Trust' and 'Reputation'", *European Integration Online Papers* 6, No. 14, (2002), <http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/2002-014.htm#1>.

¹⁴² Christoph Meyer, "Political Legitimacy and the Invisibility of Politics", 620.

¹⁴³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1991), Cited in: Michael Bruter, "Winning Hearts and Minds for Europe: The Impact of News and Symbols on Civic and Cultural European Identity", *Comparative Political Studies* 36, No. 10, (2003), 1149.

increasingly critical media environment”¹⁴⁴ that was its fatal mistake during the crisis surrounding the fraud claims.¹⁴⁵ Meyer concluded by arguing that the overt encouragement and development of a critical public debate on European integration issues are very important means by which the European Union can begin to garner greater political legitimacy.

Continuing the debate, Kurpas *et al.* claimed that the major problem facing the EU as it began deliberations on its new constitution was the lack of knowledge citizens had regarding EU issues, and their consequent lack of awareness about the impact of EU action on their daily lives.¹⁴⁶ The authors claimed that this dearth of accurate citizen knowledge about the EU is the primary example of the existence of a communication deficit within the Union.¹⁴⁷ The authors proposed several recommendations, broadly targeted at EU institutions, national and local governing bodies, the media, and academic institutions and think tanks, aimed at rectifying the communication problem. Kurpas *et al.* claimed that the EU’s communication efforts needed to be decentralised, more targeted in their efforts and to be explicit in explaining the impact of EU decisions on ordinary people.¹⁴⁸ They also emphasised the importance of giving the EU institutions a “face”,¹⁴⁹ making the EU less anonymous and thus more easily recognisable and, importantly, more accountable to its citizens.¹⁵⁰ In addition to these

¹⁴⁴ Christoph Meyer, “Political Legitimacy and the Invisibility of Politics”, 625.

¹⁴⁵ However, according to Meyer, this was not the failure of the Santer Commission alone. The previous Delors Commission had ordered an investigation into the institution’s communication, which had concluded that the Commission should increase its efforts by communicating the EU as a ‘branded product’, converting journalists and editors to the ‘cause’ of the EU, and that the Commission should target its communication at women because of their intuitiveness, their instinctive possession of ‘moral values’, their detestation of war and their parallel love of families! The Santer Commission, Meyer believed, simply continued this largely deluded and inherited approach to the media and communication, and hence, the author claimed, its eventual demise.

¹⁴⁶ Sebastian Kurpas, Christoph Meyer and Kyriakos Gialoglou, “After the European Elections, Before the Constitution Referenda: Can the EU Communicate Better?”, *Centre for European Policy Studies Policy Brief*, No. 55, (2004), 2.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

recommendations to the EU, the authors also proposed a number of ways that they believed the media could play a part in closing the communication deficit. They argued that news editors should work harder at making EU news more domestically relevant for local audiences, should collaborate regionally and that journalists should be better trained in EU matters so that they can report on them more effectively.¹⁵¹

While the authors acknowledged that their recommendations were only a starting point and were not intended to be a panacea for the communication deficit and associated problems of the EU, their recommendations for the press corps are problematic. Media practitioners would argue that their role is to report on issues of newsworthiness, and that more often than not, the EU simply does not fill this criterion. Former journalist Cathie Burton, for example, discussed the difficulties of communicating Europe from an insider's perspective of having had to cope with these challenges. While it is sometimes said that the EU is too secretive and difficult to get information from, Burton instead argued that one of the key challenges for a journalist reporting from Brussels is dealing with the sheer volume of information produced by the EU institutions – a volume which Burton claimed is almost always too large.¹⁵² Additionally, the complexity of EU documentation and information further compounds the difficulties of an EU journalists' job, as few are experts in European integration. One point that Burton stressed was that those reporting about Europe should not be overly confident that their EU-story will ever get wide coverage.¹⁵³ The author noted that “[t]he media are not friendly to European stories, and many journalists and newspaper owners are only too happy to rubbish anything seen as coming from the famous Brussels bureaucrats”.¹⁵⁴ The existence of such an attitude amongst the European media arguably poses a very real problem for those ‘Brussels bureaucrats’ to overcome as they seek to improve their communication efficiency.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁵² Cathie Burton, “Challenges Facing the EU Institutions in Dealing with an Extended Press Network”, *Journal of Communication Management* 9, No. 3, (2005), 217.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 218.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

However, it is possible that such an attitude is not only a 'typical' British Eurosceptic view, but that it may also be an outdated one. Current BBC Europe Editor Mark Mardell noted the presence of attitudes like Burton's immediately prior to taking up his new post on the Continent. Mardell wrote of his new job and its imminent challenges:

I suspect one of the central problems I will encounter is a feeling that the European story is a bit dull...I am convinced this is a central editorial problem in British journalism...And I simply don't believe it as an editorial excuse, because while it is unfortunately true that many of our readers, viewers and listeners are not over enamoured with politics generally, we still stuff them full of American and British politics...But until recently we didn't have a similar commitment to tell the world about the woman who will probably run the European Union for the next few years.¹⁵⁵

Conceivably, the existence of sentiments like Mardell's will begin to overcome the perceived difficulties of reporting the EU to which Burton referred, however recent studies investigating the portrayal of the EU in the European media indicate that such a transformation is arguably yet to take place.

In recent years there has been an exponential increase in studies which have taken the existence of the communications deficit as their starting point and have examined the coverage of the EU in the various media of EU Member States. Though the subject area has only recently become a prominent focus of scholars, the very first such EU media study was undertaken in 1979 during the first EP elections. Blumler and colleagues monitored the coverage of the inaugural EP elections in the print and broadcast media of the EU Member States. It was noted by the authors that the unique features of this event "imposed exceptional demands on communication at the same time that they posed problems of exceptional severity for communicators to

¹⁵⁵ Mark Mardell, "Why I'm Taking on Europe", *British Journalism Review* 16, No. 3, (2005), http://www.bjr.org.uk/data/2005/no3_mardell.htm.

overcome”.¹⁵⁶ They predicted that “it would require a communication effort of considerable scope and complexity to overcome electoral unfamiliarity with EEC institutions, candidates and issues”.¹⁵⁷ Far from this required unified and extensive Europe-wide communication campaign, however, Blumler and colleagues found that instead:

...the nine national television audiences were exposed to strikingly different campaigns, varying greatly in length, volume of peak-hour attention, momentum over time, and particularly in their reliance on different ways of mixing the available forms of election programming.¹⁵⁸

In addition, in a study which focused specifically on the UK response to the first EP election, Holland noted that on the very day of the elections, 7 June, only one UK national newspaper noted that the election was even being held.¹⁵⁹ Since these first EP elections, there has been an increasing collection of empirical studies of the EU’s media portrayals which have highlighted a sometimes striking lack of existing effective political communication between the EU and its citizens. Leroy and Siune, for example, investigated the role of television in the 1979, 1984 and 1989 EP elections in Belgium and Denmark. While the study did not specifically assess the television *news* media, their study was a broad, cross-national and longitudinal study of the EU’s television portrayal, and it is thus of interest to this thesis. The findings of the two authors appeared to suggest that the national stance towards European integration influenced the levels of conflict-based coverage. In Belgium, for example, where EU membership has never really been questioned and where compulsory voting ensures a nation of, if not enamoured, then at least diligent, EU-citizens, the study found marginal conflict-based television coverage. In Denmark, on the other

¹⁵⁶ Jay Blumler and Gabriel Thoveron, “Analysing a Unique Election: Themes and Concepts”, in *Communicating to Voters*, edited by Jay Blumler, 4.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ Jay Blumler, “Election Communication: A Comparative Perspective”, in *Communicating to Voters*, edited by Jay Blumler, 360.

¹⁵⁹ Martin Holland, “Candidates for Europe: The British Experience. An Analysis of the Recruitment and Selection Processes”, (PhD Dissertation, University of Exeter, 1982).

hand, where the country's EU membership has long been fraught with controversy, television coverage of the EP elections reflected this, and a much higher proportion of conflict based coverage was noted.¹⁶⁰ The authors claimed that while a lack of controversial coverage may seem beneficial for the EU, in fact this lack of conflict in the Belgian television coverage highlighted an overall low level of EP election coverage and an increasing apathy of Belgians towards the European integration project.¹⁶¹

Following from the seminal study of Blumler, and Leroy and Siune's bilateral study, Hodess' 1997 PhD dissertation enquiries contributed to the then limited pool of literature relating to the media's coverage of EU issues. Hodess investigated the news coverage of four European Council summits during the period 1985-1991 in Britain and Germany.¹⁶² The study conducted a content analysis of three newspapers and one television news programme in each of the two countries, and was broadly concerned with what Hodess described as the legitimization of the European integration project through the news media.¹⁶³ Unlike the earlier study by Leroy and Siune, Hodess' research found that conflict-oriented coverage was present in both monitored countries' media, and the author found that this conflict was framed in an "us vs. them" manner, by situating states in constant opposition to the EU.¹⁶⁴ Additionally, Hodess' identified a prominent visibility of national actors in the coverage of the high-level EU summits, while in the non-summit coverage it was EU actors who were evident.¹⁶⁵ A national orientation in the British and German media concerning the EU was also noted by Semetko *et al.* in their 2000 study. While Semetko *et al.*'s research

¹⁶⁰ Pascale Leroy and Karen Siune, "The Role of Television in European Elections: The Cases of Belgium and Denmark", *European Journal of Communication* 9, (1994), 66.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Robin Beth Hodess, "Media Coverage of European Community Politics in Britain and Germany, 1985-1991" (PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1997).

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 260.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 261

concerned only a short period of television news coverage in Britain and Germany immediately prior to and including the launch date of the euro, their study supported the findings of Hodess in terms of the domestic nature of the coverage.¹⁶⁶ From these studies then, there is evidence of a trend in EU media coverage which prioritises a distinctly national orientation of EU-related news in the various Member States of the EU. Such a trend can be argued to have negative consequences for the EU's legitimisation. Indeed, as Hodess noted, "...[the] media have continued to frame most reporting in a national context, and have [thus] continued to reinforce the legitimacy of national more than European governance".¹⁶⁷

In contrast to these domesticised trends, a study by Peter *et al.* in 2000 found that coverage of the EU on the main evening television news programmes in five EU Member States was not significantly national or domestic focused,¹⁶⁸ but instead "a more or less similar picture of EU affairs"¹⁶⁹ was portrayed in all countries. The authors thus argued that there was evidence of an emerging "EU-related agenda"¹⁷⁰ in the television news sphere of the monitored Member States.

A range of other studies have assessed specific aspects of the EU integration process, and have monitored their coverage in various media and in various EU Member States. Some have focused on the coverage of the euro introduction in 1999 – a significant milestone for the EU, while others have investigated events like EP elections or various European Council summits.¹⁷¹ Many of these studies have been

¹⁶⁶ Holli Semetko, Claes de Vreese and Jochen Peter, "Europeanised Politics – Europeanised Media? European Integration and Political Communication", *West European Politics* 23, No. 4, (2000), 135.

¹⁶⁷ Robin Beth Hodess, "Media Coverage of European Community Politics in Britain and Germany", 270.

¹⁶⁸ Jochen Peter, Holli Semetko, Claes de Vreese, "EU Politics on Television News", 322.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 321

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ In addition to the studies discussed below, see also: Neil Gavin, "Imagining Europe: Political Identity and British Television Coverage of the European Economy", *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 2, No. 3, (2000); Claes de Vreese, "'Europe' in the News"; Jochen Peter and Claes de Vreese, "In Search of Europe".

led by researchers at the Amsterdam School of Communications Research (ASCoR) which has adopted a particular focus on the communication deficit of the EU, and on connecting it to research on the portrayal of the EU in the European news media. In one of the earlier ASCoR-led projects, Semetko and Valkenburg examined the use of five specific news frames¹⁷² in the Dutch news media coverage – both newspaper and television – of the Amsterdam European Council summit of 1997,¹⁷³ and found that in general, stories about Europe were framed in terms of attribution of responsibility, conflict or economic consequences.¹⁷⁴ A subsequent study, led by de Vreese, monitored the television news coverage of the 1999 euro launch in four countries: the Netherlands, Denmark, Britain and Germany.¹⁷⁵ Though only a relatively brief time period was monitored by the authors in this study, its findings reemphasised those of Leroy and Siune as well as Semetko and Valkenburg, in finding that conflict-based coverage was a significant component of the overall coverage identified.¹⁷⁶

Another investigation led by de Vreese, and also monitoring both press and television coverage, assessed the portrayal of the 2004 EP elections, although unlike earlier studies, de Vreese *et al.* did not limit themselves to one country's coverage, but instead ambitiously monitored all of the 25 Member States participating in the 2004 elections.¹⁷⁷ The EP elections were found by these authors to be more visible in the 10 new Member States,¹⁷⁸ and additionally, confirming the results of earlier studies, de Vreese *et al.* found that Member State – and not EU actors dominated the coverage.¹⁷⁹ Although this analysis provides an interesting base-line of coverage of the EP

¹⁷² A discussion of framing in the news media is made in Chapter 3.

¹⁷³ Holli Semetko and Patti Valkenburg, "Framing European Politics".

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 107

¹⁷⁵ Claes de Vreese, Jochen Peter and Holli Semetko, "Framing Politics at the Launch of the Euro".

¹⁷⁶ Holli Semetko and Patti Valkenburg, "Framing European Politics", 115.

¹⁷⁷ Claes de Vreese, et al., "The News Coverage of the 2004 European Parliamentary Election Campaign".

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 487.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 491

elections in the European news media, due to the scale of the comparative aspects of the study, de Vreese *et al.*'s analysis was limited to the front pages of monitored newspapers only, and as such did not account for an holistic picture of the EU's (and more specifically in that case, the EP's) news media representations.

From this multitude of EU-media representation studies, two key trends can be identified throughout. Although Peter *et al.* argued that there existed an emerging EU agenda in the European news media,¹⁸⁰ the majority of studies have in fact found a predominance of often divergent national interests and agendas on EU matters – as seen not only in the consistent framing of EU issues through a national lens, but also through the dominance of Member State actors over EU-level actors – and a consistent level of conflict-based coverage. These trends create a picture of the EU as somewhat disconnected and fragmented, which can only contribute to the confused perceptions of EU citizens towards the Union.

The continuation of these media images may arguably lead to a further disassociation of EU citizens from the Union itself. While some studies, as discussed above, have identified an emergent sense of European identity amongst EU citizens,¹⁸¹ recurrent Eurobarometer surveys have shown that there remains a perceived distance between European citizens and their political identification with the EU.¹⁸² Importantly perhaps for this process, it has been noted that while a certain level of legitimacy can be maintained in an emerging political system like the EU with only a fundamentally democratic character *or* a mass European identity, it is argued to be unlikely that it can be maintained without either.¹⁸³ This surely emphasises the need for effective political communication from and about the EU, particularly through the public's most widely used information sources, the popular news media, in order to quell the

¹⁸⁰ Jochen Peter, Holli Semetko, Claes de Vreese, "EU Politics on Television News".

¹⁸¹ See for example: Michael Bruter, "On What Citizens Mean by Feeling 'European'"; Michael Bruter, "Winning Hearts and Minds for Europe".

¹⁸² Most recently, see: European Commission, *Eurobarometer* 62-66, (2004-2007).

¹⁸³ Michael Bruter, "Winning Hearts and Minds for Europe", 1149.

consistent perception of European citizens that the EU is a distant and often abstract institution well-removed from their lives.

2.1.4 Communicating the EU: Outside Looking (and Listening) In?

Arguably, if the public within the EU consider the Union to be a foreign and distant actor, then this perception would be considerably heightened for publics situated outside the EU. How do those external to the EU view this international actor, and what information about this foreign counterpart is provided to them by their primary news media?

It is often argued that one's image of 'self' necessarily involves a differentiation from the 'other'. As Stråth, for example, has noted, "[c]entral to our identities are images of others. The idea of...a European identity necessarily contains a demarcation from the non-European...Europe can only be realised in the mirror of Others".¹⁸⁴ This binary opposition has been discussed by Bruter, also, who has argued:

Fundamentally, political identities involve how individuals perceive and define who are the "us" and therefore, by contrast, who are the "them", or the out-groups that are implicitly excluded from a community. In turn, the definition of this symbolic boundary may help in the emergence, modification or development of a new political identity.¹⁸⁵

Holland has in particular noted the importance of the EU's external activities in helping to foster public support at home,¹⁸⁶ as have Bretherton and Vogel who contend that "the relationship between internal coherence/consistency...and perceptions of the EC's presence is of central importance".¹⁸⁷ Elgström too has argued that external perceptions provide a source of knowledge about the EU's foreign policy

¹⁸⁴ Bo Stråth. "Intercultural Dialogue", 3.

¹⁸⁵ Michael Bruter, "Winning Hearts and Minds for Europe", 1150.

¹⁸⁶ Martin Holland, *The European Union and the Third World*, (Houndsmills, Basingstoke and Hampshire: Palgrave, 2002): 322-323; Martin Holland, "The Common Foreign and Security Policy", in *Developments in the European Union* edited by Laura Cram, Desmond Dinan and Neill Nugent.

¹⁸⁷ Charlotte Bretherton, and John Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*, 45.

through “insights into how the EU is actually judged as an international actor”.¹⁸⁸ Additionally, external perceptions can help to shape EU identity and roles because although EU foreign policy is primarily shaped by internal agendas, it is also to some extent shaped in response to the expectations and reactions of others.¹⁸⁹ Finally, according to Elgström, external perceptions of the EU can influence the impact and performance of EU foreign policy, because “[p]aying attention to how the EU is viewed abroad helps us to evaluate the ‘reach’ of EU influence”.¹⁹⁰ The latter of Elgström’s points links to Hill’s well-known “capabilities-expectations gap” thesis. Hill has stated that there is a significant discrepancy between what the EU’s external partners expect of its foreign relations, and the often limited capacity for action that the EU is in fact capable of.¹⁹¹

Thus, looking in the “mirror of Others”, and seeing beyond the “symbolic boundary”¹⁹² of Europe may contribute to the ongoing debate about and emergence of a strong European identity both inside and outside of its borders, which in turn may help to validate and legitimate the European project.¹⁹³ The images of the EU that are found in this external ‘mirror’, in this case that of New Zealand, may assist in showing Europe a picture of itself, allowing it to consider how it is seen by its ‘Others’. This is important because, as Lucarelli has noted, “we fail to understand a fundamental component of the EU’s international role as well as of the Europeans’

¹⁸⁸ Ole Elgström, “Leader or Foot-Dragger? Perceptions of the European Union in Multilateral International Negotiations”, *Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies Report 1*, (2006), www.sieps.se/publ/rapporter/bilagor/20061.pdf, 11.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁹¹ Christopher Hill, “The Capability-Expectations Gap, or Conceptualising Europe’s International Role”, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31, No. 3, (1993); Christopher Hill, “Closing the Capabilities-Expectations Gap?” in *A Common Foreign Policy for Europe? Competing visions of the CFSP*, edited by John Peterson and Helene Sjursen, (London: Routledge, 1998).

¹⁹² Michael Bruter, “Winning Hearts and Minds for Europe”, 1150.

¹⁹³ See also: Michito Tsuruoka, “How External Perspectives of the European Union are Shaped: Endogenous and Exogenous Sources”, (Paper presented at 20th World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Fukuoka, Japan, 9-13 July 2006).

self-identification process if we do not investigate what the external images of the EU are”.¹⁹⁴

Although such perspectives are argued therefore to be of use to the European integration process, there is a significant absence of information and research about them. While the EU claims for itself the role of ‘global actor’, little is known about how it is seen globally – outside of its borders generally and by its key partners specifically. Further discussion on the limited but existing scholarship on external perceptions of the EU is made in Chapter 3.

Having thus covered the need for scholarship on the external perceptions of the EU, and discussing the ability of such studies to contribute to the ongoing debates about the EU’s legitimisation and communication, this chapter now turns to the other major scholarship field within which this research is situated; the news media, and in particular, the television news media in New Zealand; the ‘mirror’ in which this study reflects an external perception of the EU.

¹⁹⁴ Sonia Lucarelli, “EU Political Identity, Foreign Policy and External Image”, *The External Image of the European Union: A Global Survey*, *GARNET Working Paper Series* 17, (2007) http://www.garnet-eu.org/fileadmin/documents/working_papers/1707/1%20Survey%20Front%20Page-Content-Authors-Acknowledgments.pdf, 4.

2.2 AND NOW TO THE NEWS...

2.2.1 *What is News?*

In its most basic definition, the ‘news’ can be understood as “important or interesting recent happenings”, or the “information about such events, as in the mass media”.¹⁹⁵

‘The news’ is available to readers and audiences now in greater variety and volume than ever before. In the mid 1980s, an eminent media studies scholar noted that societies are currently “confronted by a seemingly unmanageable flood tide of information. We live in an age of information glut”.¹⁹⁶ Since that comment was made, the flood waters have risen substantially. The more traditional news formats – newspapers, television news and radio – are increasingly challenged by alternative news formats. Newspapers are now available in both hard copy and online, global television news networks operate 24 hours a day, in addition to the local broadcast news bulletins at regular intervals throughout the day, and radio stations give hourly news updates. Posing the greatest threat to the traditional media ‘troika’ though is the online media. The internet can provide live news feeds direct to one’s email inbox; major news agencies have websites that are updated by the minute; blogs, message boards and online forums provide information and the means for users to discuss and debate world events.

Regardless of which medium we use to get our daily news however, the information it provides is presented in a very specific and produced way. Far from being simply an objective “mirror held up to society”, wrote Patterson, news (arguably in any format), “is actually a highly selective account of events. News is a construct: it is a version of

¹⁹⁵ David McQueen, *Television: A Media Student’s Guide*, (New York: Arnold, 1998), 91.

¹⁹⁶ Doris Graber, *Processing the News*, 1.

reality shaped in significant part by journalistic norms and practices”.¹⁹⁷ Patterson’s comments though, require further elaboration. What does the author mean by claiming that news is a construct? Tuchman’s description of the news ‘process’ is useful here. As the author observes, “[n]ews is located, gathered, and disseminated by professionals working in organisations. Thus it is inevitably a product of newswriters drawing upon institutional processes and conforming to institutional practices”.¹⁹⁸ It is through these processes of production that news is constructed and created.

Despite playing their role in this creative production process, newsmakers have traditionally claimed to adhere to strict standards of objectivity in their news reports. In fact, it has been said that “objectivity is the most fundamental principle that journalists must abide by in their work”.¹⁹⁹ However, it is argued by news media critics that the presentation of news is in fact never without a point of view. This is present, some have argued, “in the selection or non-selection of stories (thereby setting a value upon them), the placement and angle of the cameras...the selection of interviewees and relevant questions and the language and tone adopted by reporters and presenters”.²⁰⁰ Indeed, more recently, the outright bias in Fox news has seemingly challenged conventional standards of journalistic objectivity,²⁰¹ but this is arguably just a particularly blatant example of the active selection and shaping of news bulletins and papers that happens in every newsroom, every day. Lippman discussed such processes in the 1920s, writing that, “[a]ll the reporters in the world working all the hours of the day could not witness all the happenings in the world”,²⁰² thus

¹⁹⁷ Thomas Patterson, “Political Roles of the Journalist”, in *The Politics of News, the News of Politics* edited by Doris Graber, Denis McQuail and Pippa Norris, (Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1998), 17.

¹⁹⁸ Gaye Tuchman, *Making News*, 4.

¹⁹⁹ Juan Ramón Muñoz-Torres, Underlying Epistemological Conceptions in Journalism: The Case of Three Leading Spanish Newspapers Stylebooks, *Journalism Studies* 8, No. 2, (2007).

²⁰⁰ David McQueen, *Television*, 104.

²⁰¹ See for example: Jonathan Morris, “The Fox News Factor”, *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 10, No. 3, (2005); Neil Hickey, “Is Fox News Fair?”, *Columbia Journalism Review* 36, No. 6; (1998).

²⁰² Walter Lippman, *Public Opinion*, 338.

highlighting that the procedures of news selection are not unnecessary impositions of journalistic opinion, but rather are vital actions in the creation of a news bulletin or paper. This is because, according to Graber *et al.*, “the wealth of political information of potential concern to the public that surfaces every day exceeds the capacity to publicize it, [and thus] selections *must* be made”.²⁰³ The point, Lippman argued, was that “before a series of events become news they have usually to make themselves noticeable in some more or less overt act”.²⁰⁴ Only then can an event or happening be considered for inclusion in ‘the daily news’.

The power to make these selection decisions arguably gives journalists, editors and news producers a certain level of power in a given society. This influence was perhaps most famously noted by Thomas Carlyle who cited Edmund Burke:

Burke said there were Three Estates in Parliament; but, in the Reporters’ Gallery yonder, there sat a *Fourth Estate* more important by far than they all... Whoever can speak, speaking now to the whole nation, becomes a power, a branch of government, with inalienable weight in law-making, in all acts of authority.²⁰⁵

More recently, former United Nations (UN) Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali noted of the Cable News Network (CNN) that, “CNN is the sixteenth member of the [15 member] UN Security Council”.²⁰⁶ The notion that the news media operate as an additional branch of government – a Fourth Estate in political systems – influencing public opinion by controlling the political information that they have access to has

²⁰³ Doris Graber, Denis McQuail and Pippa Norris, “Introduction: Political Communication in a Democracy”, in *The Politics of News, the News of Politics* edited by Doris Graber, Denis McQuail and Pippa Norris, 2. Emphasis added.

²⁰⁴ Walter Lippman, *Public Opinion*, 339.

²⁰⁵ Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero Worship, and the Heroic in History*, (1841), 141, (emphasis in original) cited in: Matthew Gentzkow, Edward Glaeser, Claudia Goldin, “The Rise of the Fourth Estate: How Newspapers Became Informative and why it Mattered”, *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series*, Working Paper 10791, <http://www.nber.org/papers/w10791>, 1. See also: Douglas Carter, *The Fourth Branch of Government*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959).

²⁰⁶ Boutros Boutros-Ghali, cited in, Royce Ammon, *Global Television and the Shaping of World Politics*, (Jefferson, N.C: McFarland, 2001).

also been described as the ‘gatekeeping’ function of the media. Lewin first wrote of the role of newsmakers as ‘gatekeepers’, controlling the ‘flow’ of information through the channels of communication.²⁰⁷ The term caught on in academic discourse, and is used to refer largely to the ability of newsmakers to open or close the ‘gates’ of communication, thus allowing events to reach the public via their news media sources, or not.

In addition to the constraints of time and space which necessitate such journalistic selectivity, as discussed above, other pressures contribute to the creation of news. Speaking specifically about television news bulletins, Iyengar has described “[t]elevision news [as] essentially a twenty-one minute ‘headline service’ operating under *powerful commercial dictates* and *well-defined norms* of journalistic objectivity”.²⁰⁸ The well-defined norms referred to by Iyengar include the specific news policy of a particular media outlet, to which a journalist and their reporting must conform. Although a media outlet may not explicitly admit their policy, Breed contended that it exists nonetheless, and will be followed by newsmakers working within that organisation.²⁰⁹ This policy is sometimes dictated by the editor or chief of news, and at other times is set down by the owner of a media outlet. Indeed, the ownership of a news media outlet is often connected rather significantly to the commercial pressures to which Iyengar also referred. The commercial ‘dictates’ are increasingly important in the mass media generally and in news presentations in particular. The ownership of the news media by large media conglomerates has helped to “...press media companies towards strictly market (profitability) objectives...[this

²⁰⁷ Kurt Lewin, “Frontiers in Group Dynamics: II. Channels of Group Life” *Human Relations* 1, (1947), cited in: David Manning White, “The Gatekeeper”, *Journalism Quarterly* 27, (1950), 383.

²⁰⁸ Shanto Iyengar, *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 14. Emphasis added.

²⁰⁹ Warren Breed, “Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis”, *Social Forces* 33, (1955), 326.

is] a powerful filter that will affect news choices”.²¹⁰ Where once “...news had been regarded as something of a public duty...by the early 1970s it had become a ‘profit centre’, as important a weapon in the ratings battle as a soap opera or game show”.²¹¹ Thus, ensuring that a profit is made by a news outlet is a key factor in the production of ‘the news’.

Once operating within the discussed commercial dictates, and functioning to select and define the day’s news, how do the news ‘gatekeepers’ know what news is? How do they know which events and happenings each day are important enough to make it through the various filters that they place on such information flows? As Gans famously noted, the key issue is “deciding what’s news”,²¹² and thus understanding what helps journalists to make these decisions. It is here that the concept of news values arises. Concepts of newsworthiness, or the values by which an occurrence is deemed suitable and sufficient to make the news, are a vital component in news’ construction. As McQueen has noted, “[a]lthough the day-to-day agenda of news items may appear to change, the underlying principles of selection and presentation of news are more constant. These principles are often described as ‘news values’”.²¹³ Several catalogues of news values have been created by communications scholars, and they provide a useful list of specific news values against which the authors believed most prospective news items were assessed. McQueen, for example has included the personalisation of an item, meaning the extent to which the story could be told from the perspective of an individual person, thus humanising the event for a news audience.²¹⁴ Similarly, Shoemaker and Reese included human interest as an important news value, and one which they noted was frequently employed by

²¹⁰ Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, “Manufacturing Consent”, (New York: Pantheon, 1988) Cited in *News: A Reader*, edited by Howard Tumber, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

²¹¹ David McQueen, *Television*, 95.

²¹² Herbert Gans, *Deciding What’s News: A Study of CBS Nightly News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time*, (New York, Pantheon Books, 1979).

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 96.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 96-97.

newsmakers.²¹⁵ Timing was listed by both Shoemaker and Reese, and McQueen as an important news value, because, as the latter noted, quite simply “[t]he more recent the events, the more newsworthy they are”.²¹⁶

The locality of a specific event has also been considered to be an important factor in a news items’ inclusion. Speaking in reference to the production of news at the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) for British audiences, McQueen argued that:

[i]t is often remarked that a news event in London will take precedent over an identical event in Glasgow. A plane crash in France will be considered more important than a similar crash in Russia. News from Africa or India usually has to involve a major catastrophe before it is covered...[and] such catastrophes are also usually covered in relation to how British people are affected.²¹⁷

Shoemaker and Reese also referred to this notion, but described it as cultural proximity, meaning that news coverage is more likely to be given to an event that has happened in a country or region that is culturally familiar to the home country.²¹⁸ Simplicity and negativity were two additional key news values discussed by McQueen, wherein a simple news story will almost always be selected over a complex one,²¹⁹ and the more negative, devastating or tragic an event, the greater the likelihood of it being deemed newsworthy.²²⁰ Shoemaker and Reese noted only the importance of negativity, although they termed it ‘conflict/controversy’ coverage.²²¹

²¹⁵ Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese, *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*, (2nd edition), (White Plains, New York, Longman, 1995).

²¹⁶ David McQueen, *Television*, 100.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 99.

²¹⁸ Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

²¹⁹ David McQueen, *Television*, 102

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 97.

²²¹ Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

The final fundamental news value in Shoemaker and Reese's classification was that of prominence or importance, by which they meant that the significance of an event was almost always assessed by news gatekeepers as they formulated a news bulletin or newspaper.²²² The final news value discussed by McQueen on the other hand, related specifically to television news production, and this was the critical importance placed on images in an evaluation of newsworthiness. The author cited Schlesinger's discussion of the prime importance of images in television news: "[t]he fact of yesterday's air disaster may no longer be top news tonight – but the first *film* of the scene may well merit first place in this evening's television news".²²³

The place and role of the news media in society are issues which have been long debated.²²⁴ 'The news' has traditionally been viewed as a key component of the democratic process, seen to provide citizens with the necessary information to enable them to play their part in the election and legitimization of their political leaders. Such

²²² Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

²²³ Philip Schlesinger, *Putting Reality Together: BBC News*, (London and New York: Methuen, 1978), cited in David McQueen, *Television*, 101. Emphasis added

²²⁴ A cursory search of the University of Canterbury library catalogue reveals, for example, almost 300 books with the reference "news media". In the interests of space, this investigation of literature has been limited to only those which are deemed most relevant. However, a wider survey of additional significant studies of the power and influence of the news media might include: David Altheide, *Media Power*, (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1985); W Lance Bennett, *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*, (Cambridge University Press, 2001); Jay Blumler, *The Crisis of Public Communication*, (London: Routledge, 1995); Timothy Cook, *Governing with the News: the News Media as a Political Institution*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Murray Edelman, *The Politics of Misinformation*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Robert Entman, *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Herbert Gans, *Democracy and the News*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Glasgow University Media Group, *Bad News* (Volume 1), (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976); Glasgow University Media Group, *Getting the Message: News, Truth and Power*, (London: Routledge, 1993); Doris Graber, *Mass Media and American Politics*, (Washington D.C: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1980); Doris Graber, *Media Power in Politics*, (Washington D.C: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1990); Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, "Manufacturing Consent"; Kathleen Jamieson, *The Media and Politics*, (London: Sage, 1996); Pippa Norris, *Politics and the Press: the News Media and their Influences*, (Boulder, Colorado: L. Rienner Publishers, 1997); Pippa Norris, *Framing Terrorism: the News Media, the Government, and the Public*, (London: Routledge, 2003); David Paletz and Robert Entman, *Media, Power, Politics*, (New York: Free Press, 1981); Piers Robinson, *The CNN Effect: the Myth of News Foreign Policy and Intervention*, (London: Routledge, 2002); Michael Schudson, *The Power of News*, (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1995); Ingrid Volkmer, *News in the Global Sphere: a Study of CNN and its Impact on Global Communication* (Luton: University of Luton Press, 1999).

is the considered importance of this news media role that one former American president was famously prompted to note: “If it were left to me to decide whether we should have a government without a free press or a free press without a government, I would prefer the latter”.²²⁵ The connection of the news media to the democratic functioning of a state has long been at the centre of academic investigations.²²⁶ While this focus appears to have grown exponentially in recent years, it is far from a new tradition. Indeed, criticisms of the news media have proliferated almost since the advent of the popular ‘massed’ media. In the late 1890s the phenomenon of ‘yellow press’ or ‘yellow journalism’ emerged as newspapers, particularly in America, began printing increasingly scandalous material, ostensibly to gain and retain their readers’ attention. There was great concern at the time about the effects that this trend was seen to be having on the role of the news media in informing the public.²²⁷ In the 1920s and 1930s a rise in the use of propaganda particularly by the fascist movements in Europe was noted, and there was a consequent increase in academic attention to this fearful yet highly influential form of news media.²²⁸ More recently, Pippa Norris employed the term “videomalaise”, first coined by Michael Robinson in the 1970s,²²⁹ to refer to the “accounts claiming that common practices in political communications by the news media and party campaigns hinder civic engagement”.²³⁰ The term ‘videomalaise’ highlights the advent of a new challenge to the role of news in

²²⁵ Thomas Jefferson, “To Edward Carrington”, *On Press and Politics*, ME 6, 57 (1787), <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/jefferson/quotations/jeff1600.htm>.

²²⁶ For a brief example, see: Jay Blumler, “Origins of the Crisis of Communication for Citizenship”, *Political Communication* 14 (1997); James Fallows, *Breaking the News*, (New York: Pantheon, 1996); Tom Patterson, *Out of Order*, (New York: Vintage Press, 1993); Neil Postman, *Amusing Ourselves to Death*, (New York: Viking, 1985); Robert Putnam, “Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America”, *Political Science and Politics* 27, No. 4, (1996).

²²⁷ See: Shearon Lowery and Melvin DeFleur, *Milestones in Mass Communication Research*, (New York: Longman, 1995).

²²⁸ James Curran and Jean Seaton, *Power Without Responsibility: The Press and Broadcasting in Britain*, London: Routledge, 1991); Harold Lasswell, *Propaganda Techniques in the World War*, (Boston: MIT Press, 1927); Pippa Norris, *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Post-Industrial Societies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

²²⁹ Michael Robinson. “Public Affairs Television and the Growth of Political Malaise: The Case of ‘the Selling of the President’”, *American Political Science Review* 70, No. 3, (1976), 425.

²³⁰ Pippa Norris, *A Virtuous Circle*, 2.

societies, and to scholars investigating that role; television news. Robinson noted that the focus of television on negative issues and events was having a profoundly detrimental effect on the sentiments of the American public who were, the author claimed, becoming increasingly cynical towards the political process.²³¹

Television news specifically has been described both as “a window on the world”²³² and alternatively, as “the politics of illusion”.²³³ The former refers to the accessibility of television; indeed, even as early as the 1970s, it was noted that around 97 percent of the households in America had at least one television set.²³⁴ Being in such attendance in the daily lives of ordinary people makes television the seemingly perfect medium for politicians, advertisers and other interested parties to reach that public. For that public, to turn the television on is to open the home to the world, and to see – or at least catch a glimpse of – the day’s important events. However, even early in its expansion, scholars were noting the failure of the television news media to live up to its potential as an information provider to the public. As one author noted, “[t]elevision has enormous potential for conveying emotions...but in the coverage of the daily concerns of our polity...television has been an uncertain and weak instrument...”²³⁵ It seemed, for many scholars, that television news had drawn a curtain over its ‘window on the world’. As Patterson and McClure argued:

...the nightly news is too brief to treat fully the complexity of modern politics, too visual to present effectively most events, and too entertainment-minded to tell viewers much worth knowing, most network newscasts are neither very educational nor very powerful communicators.²³⁶

²³¹ Michael Robinson, “Public Affairs Television and the Growth of Political Malaise”.

²³² Gaye Tuchman, *Making News*, 1.

²³³ W. Lance Bennett, *News: the Politics of Illusion*, (2nd Edition), (New York and London: Longman, 1988).

²³⁴ Edwin Diamond, *The Tin Kazoo: Television, Politics and the News*, (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1975), 13.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, xiii-xiv.

²³⁶ Thomas Patterson and Robert McClure, *The Unseeing Eye: The Myth of Television Power in National Elections*, (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1976), 90.

However, this condemnation of television news is far from undisputed. Some have claimed that the attacks on the television news process amount to little more than a ‘blame the messenger’ assault, which fail to take account of the restrictions on the newsmakers, and lay no fault with the receivers of the message or the wider social system in which the news media operate.²³⁷ Additionally, although it is generally accepted that the information presented in television news is often superficial and oriented more towards events than issues,²³⁸ so too it is acknowledged – to borrow from Cohen in reference to the press – that television news is very successful in telling its viewers *what to think about*.²³⁹ The curtain on the world may be partially drawn when viewing it through the window of television news, but, as Bennett wrote, “...for all its recognized flaws...mass media news remains our only broadly shared window on reality”.²⁴⁰ More simply put, because it remains most people’s primary source of information about the world, whether it is effective and appropriate or not, “television news is news that matters”.²⁴¹

²³⁷ Pippa Norris, “Introduction: The Rise of Postmodern Political Communications?”, in *Politics and the Press: The News Media and Their Influences*, edited by Pippa Norris, 2.

²³⁸ Shanto Iyengar, *Is Anyone Responsible?*.

²³⁹ Bernard Cohen, *The Press and Foreign Policy*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), 13. Emphasis added.

²⁴⁰ W. Lance Bennett, *News: the Politics of Illusion*, xiii.

²⁴¹ Shanto Iyengar and Donald Kinder, *News that Matters: Television and American Opinion*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 2.

2.2.2 News and Foreign Affairs

It is the news media, in many cases, who are argued to be responsible for the creation of the "...images and perceptions of other nations [that] provide the basic framework within which the conduct of international relations...takes place".²⁴² Scholars have argued the importance of studying discourses of the international political reality for decades, particularly through studies of foreign news. Galtung and Ruge were among the first to note the relationship between the 'flow' of international news, and the actions of international actors within the foreign policy sphere.²⁴³ The two authors claimed that "since it is axiomatic that action is based on the actor's image of reality, international action will be based on the image of international reality",²⁴⁴ thus justifying the need for studies of foreign news and the structures that exist to create it.

Since Galtung and Ruge's seminal study in the 1960s, a multitude of approaches to examining the discourses of foreign news have emerged, as have many studies investigating how influential these 'constructed images' of international reality really are. Because of the lack of direct contact that many have with the international political environment, it has long been argued that the media therefore play a vital role in shaping public perceptions of foreign issues. As Cohen noted in 1965,

[i]t is a truism, but an important one, that none of us has direct experience with the whole range of international affairs, whatever that range may be. We may know very small parts of it first hand...[but] generally the external world, the world of foreign policy, reaches us ... via the media of mass communication.²⁴⁵

²⁴² Siamak Movahedi, "The Social Psychology of Foreign Policy and the Politics of International Images", *Human Affairs* 8 (1985), http://www.faculty.umb.edu/siamak_movahedi/Library/social_psychology_of_foreign_policy.pdf, 19.

²⁴³ Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge, "The Structure of Foreign News", *Journal of Peace Research* 2, No. 1 (1965), http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-3433%281965%292%3A1_3C64%3ATSOFN%3E2.0.CO%3B2-0.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 64.

²⁴⁵ Bernard Cohen, *The Press and Foreign Policy*, 12-13.

Cohen went on to state that most peoples' "operational map of the world" is drawn not by cartographers, but by the news media.²⁴⁶ However, the ability and effectiveness of the news media in drawing these 'maps of the world' has been contested in academic discourse. One of the first theories of media effects has come to be widely known as the *hypodermic needle* theory. The approach was advocated by Lasswell in the aftermath of World War I following the extensive use of propaganda during that period, and it broadly considered audiences as passive vessels readily accepting and believing information provided to them by the mass media. The mass publics were seen by Lasswell as being "puzzled, uneasy or vexed at the unknown cunning which seem[ed] to have duped and degraded them".²⁴⁷ The assumptions of Lasswell and his contemporaries' theory of mass media effects held for decades until the late 1950s and early 1960s saw a dramatic shift towards a *minimal media effects* approach which contended in fact that the media had little effect on altering the opinions and beliefs of news audiences. Klapper and Berelson were two of the 'founding' theorists of this vastly different method which "minimize[d] media effects relative to those of personal influence, [and] it also demonstrated that even what small changes might be due to mass communication rarely constitute more than a blip in opinions already held".²⁴⁸ These two theories then – the hypodermic needle approach and the minimal media effects theory – saw scholarly opinion oscillate from one extreme to another. Since then, while there has been little agreement in the extent to which the media does affect public opinion, accepted systems have tended to be less extreme than these two conceptual forerunners.

One prominent theoretical approach which has more recently explored the efficacy and impact of the news media in their portrayal of the political reality in general, and the international landscape in particular, is *agenda setting*. This approach has become

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁴⁷ Harold Lasswell, *Propaganda Techniques in the World War*, 2.

²⁴⁸ James Beniger, "Toward an Old New Paradigm: The Half-Century Flirtation with Mass Society", *Public Opinion Quarterly* 51, Part 2: Supplement, 50th Anniversary Issue, (1987), S50.

so broad and popular in political communication research that one author was prompted to note: “[c]oming to grips with the totality of what has been written about agenda setting is an exceedingly complex task”.²⁴⁹

Agenda setting theory emerged from studies of the news media’s influence on voter preferences and choices in American presidential elections, and the term itself is generally attributed to McCombs and Shaw.²⁵⁰ In the words of McCombs, agenda setting refers to the news media’s role in exerting an “...influence on the salience of an issue, an influence on whether any significant number of people really regard it as worthwhile to hold an opinion about that issue”.²⁵¹ The central claim of agenda setting theory is that the media are crucial in placing issues on the public’s agenda, “...that those issues emphasized in the news come to be regarded over time as important by the public”.²⁵² Importantly, proponents of media agenda setting argue a causal link between coverage of issues in the news media, and the attitudes and beliefs of the news audiences.²⁵³

While a popular and widely utilised approach, agenda setting is not without its conceptual challenges, recognised by scholars both within and outside of the approach. Others have argued that media exposure is only one of many factors

²⁴⁹ Gerald Kosicki, “Problems and Opportunities in Agenda-Setting Research”, *Journal of Communication* 43, No. 2 (1993), 102.

²⁵⁰ Maxwell McCombs, *Setting the Agenda: the Mass Media and Public Opinion*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), viii-xii; Maxwell McCombs, and Donald Shaw, “The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media”, *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36, (1972).

²⁵¹ Maxwell McCombs, , *Setting the Agenda*, 2.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 3. See also: Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, “The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media”; Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, eds., *The Emergence of American Political Issues: The Agenda Setting Function of the Press*, (St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1977); Jack McLeod, Lee Becker, and James Byrnes, “Another Look at the Agenda Setting Function of the Press”, *Communication Research*, 1, No. 2, (1974); Maxwell McCombs, “The Evolution of Agenda-Setting Research: Twenty-Five Years in The Market Place of Ideas”, *Journal of Communication* 43, No. 2, (1993); Donald Shaw and Shannon E Martin, “The Function of Mass Media Agenda Setting”, *Journalism Quarterly* 69, No. 4, (1992).

²⁵³ Maxwell McCombs, *Setting the Agenda*, viii-xii.

influencing public opinion about issues.²⁵⁴ Due to the complexity and multiplicity of incoming factors, the direct causality between the media effects and public opinion is sometimes questioned. The *common knowledge* paradigm in political communication studies, for example, provides one such revision attempt.²⁵⁵ This theoretical paradigm focuses on *how* political information is organised and structured in the public discourses of different media, and how that information *compares* with public and elite perceptions. The paradigm advocates investigating a “three-way interaction of individual, medium, and issue”,²⁵⁶ aimed at discovering the extent to which public and elite political cognition relates to media information. Incorporating aspects of both agenda setting and the common knowledge paradigm, scholars have also investigated the notion that media effects are *not* uniformly predictable, that they are dependent on certain conditions, including for example, political orientation, media use and personal involvement or interaction.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁴ However, Chaban has noted that a number of scholars within the agenda-setting paradigm have advocated that several factors condition the effects of media agenda setting, including extraneous, ‘real world’ conditions like economic concerns, media competition, news workers’ political and social beliefs, and the characteristics of political systems. Factors operating at the individual level include political interest and affiliation, and degree of media usage. See: Natalia Chaban, “The EU Portraits in NZ News Media: Media Contributions to Public Opinion Formation”, *Asia-Pacific Journal of EU Studies* 1, No. 2, (2003), 181. See also: Jay Blumler, “Election Communication”; Holli Semetko, Jay Blumler, Michael Gurevitch and David Weaver, *The Formation of Campaign Agendas: A Comparative Analysis of Party and Media Roles in Recent American and British Elections*, (Hillsdale, N. J: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991); David Domke, Kelly McCoy and Marcos Torres, “News Media, Racial Perceptions and Political Cognition”, *Communication Research* 26, No. 5, (1999); Jack McLeod, Lee Becker, and James Byrnes, “Another Look at the Agenda Setting Function of the Press”, *Communication Research* 1, No. 2, (1974).

²⁵⁵ W. Russell Neuman, Marion Just and Anne Cligler, *Common Knowledge: News and Construction of Political Meaning*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992). The authors deliberately refrain using the term ‘theory’, and instead employ the term ‘paradigm’.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 19.

²⁵⁷ See for example: Jay Blumler, and Michael Gurevitch, “The Political Effects of Mass Communication”, in *Culture, Society and the Media*, edited by Michael Gurevitch, Tony Bennett, James Curran and Janet Woollacott, (London: Methuen, 1982); Shanto Iyengar and Donald Kinder, *News that Matters*; Jack McLeod, Gerald Kosicki, and Douglas McLeod, “The Expanding Boundaries of Political Communication Effects”, in *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research*, edited by Jennings Bryant and Dolf Zillmann, (Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994); Jack McLeod, Gerald Kosicki, and Zhongdang Pan, “On Understanding and Misunderstanding Media Effects”, in *Mass Media and Society*, edited by James Curran and Michael Gurevitch, (London: Edward Arnold, 1991); David Weaver, “Media Agenda-Setting and Elections: Assumptions and Implications”, in *Political Communication Research*, edited by David Paletz, (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex, 1987).

The disagreement that exists about the extent to which the news media set the public agenda on political issues tends to centre on studies examining media effects *within* national political communication, and specifically in the case of national elections. However, in the case of *international* political communication, the intervening factors that are argued to limit some of the media effects in a national context often do not exist, chiefly those of direct personal experience and extensive existing knowledge. Indeed, in the case of news on foreign counterparts, the impact of the news media's portrayals is arguably much greater. *Media dependency theory* offers some useful avenues here. The media dependency approach was developed in an attempt to "explain why mass communications sometimes have powerful and direct effects and at other times have indirect and rather weak effects".²⁵⁸ Essentially, the theory claims that the more an individual relies on the mass media – in all forms – for information about their immediate society and their wider world, the greater the influence that media's information will have on the individual. As Ball-Rokeach and deFleur noted, "the degree of audience dependence on media information is a key variable in understanding when and why media messages alter audience beliefs, feelings or behavior [*sic*]"²⁵⁹ The constant change associated with globalisation has made the world an increasingly complex place for the average citizen to comprehend. Media dependency theory asserts that the more complex a given society becomes, and the less contact individuals have with all parts of that society, the less aware people then are of the societal whole, beyond their own very limited areas of contact.²⁶⁰ In such situations, the mass media come to play a progressively more important role as an entertainment source, but also, notably, as a vital source of political and economic information.²⁶¹ Indeed, as van Dijk wrote, "...recipients tend to accept beliefs, knowledge and opinions (unless they are inconsistent with their personal beliefs and

²⁵⁸ Melvin deFleur and Sandra Ball-Rokeach, *Theories of Mass Communication*. 302.

²⁵⁹ Sandra Ball-Rokeach and Melvin deFleur, "A Dependency Model of Mass-Media Effects", 5.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

experiences) through discourse from what they see as authoritative, trustworthy, or credible sources, such as...reliable media”.²⁶² Thus, because in the case of information on international relations and foreign affairs, they often have little capacity for challenging the information that they are provided with, ordinary people have been argued to be largely passive targets of political discourse,²⁶³ and, to return to the words of Galtung and Ruge, “the regularity, ubiquity and perseverance of news media...[thus] make them first-rate competitors for the number-one position as *international* image-former”.²⁶⁴

In the case of news audiences situated *outside* of the EU – in this case located in New Zealand – it is argued that they will be particularly reliant on the international images that are formed by and disseminated through the news media, as the majority of these audiences will have little or no direct experience with the complex and ever-changing reality of the EU.²⁶⁵ In particular, it is argued, the New Zealand news audience is especially reliant on the *television* news media for international information. It is widely acknowledged that television viewing is one of the world’s most popular leisure activities, and additionally, it is generally accepted that the majority of people get information, and particularly their political information, from television news.²⁶⁶ In New Zealand, this argument is supported by the findings of a nationally representative survey undertaken in the same year as this study. The survey found that most New Zealanders prefer to access television news programmes for their foreign news on the EU (Figure 2.1).

²⁶² Teun van Dijk, “Critical Discourse Analysis”, in *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, edited by Deborah Tannen, Deborah Schiffrin and Heidi Hamilton, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 357.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*; Ruth Wodak, “‘And Where is the Lebanon?’ A Social-Psycholinguistic Investigation of Comprehension and Intelligibility of News, *Text* 7, No. 4, (1987): 377-410.

²⁶⁴ Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge, “The Structure of Foreign News”, 64. Emphasis added.

²⁶⁵ See also: William Adams, “Mass Media and Public Opinion about Foreign Affairs: A Typology of News Dynamics”, *Political Communication and Persuasion* 4, No. 4, (1987).

²⁶⁶ Doris Graber, *Processing Politics: Learning from Television in the Internet Age* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 1.

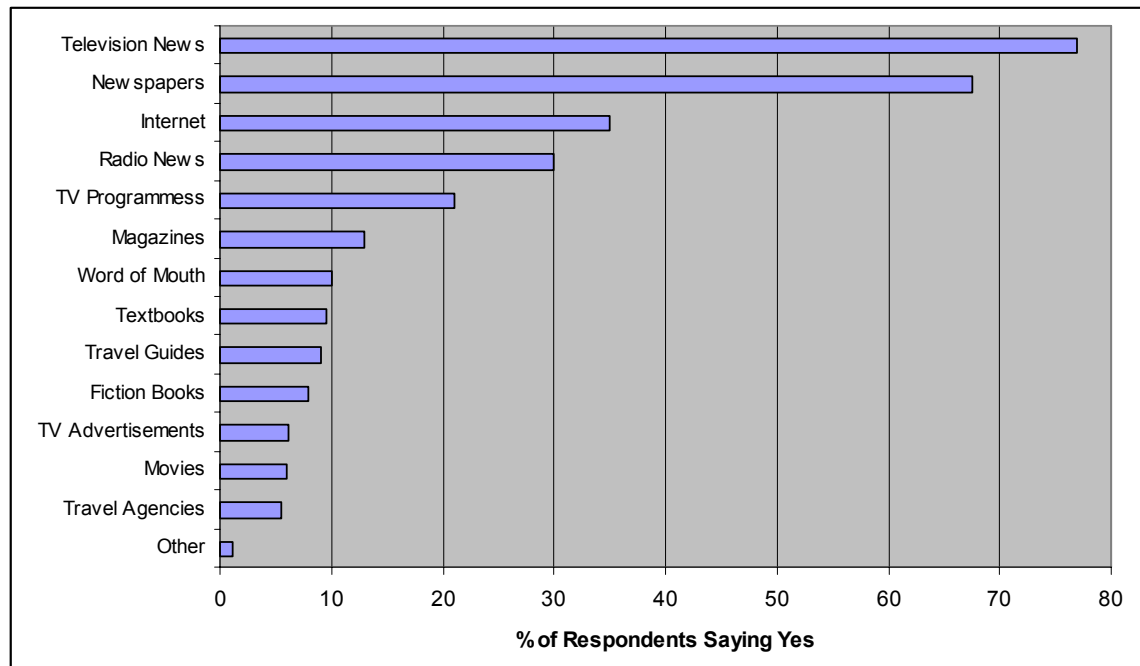


Figure 2.1: New Zealanders' Sources of Information on the EU (2004)²⁶⁷

Although the online news formats are often considered to pose a threat to the traditional information sources of newspapers and television news bulletins, studies have emerged which posit that in fact, far from providing the “global information village”²⁶⁸ that many hoped the internet would, in fact since the advent of the internet into our daily lives, fewer people are consuming foreign news, and this includes the available news on the Net.²⁶⁹ Additionally, as Figure 2.1 shows, while the Internet is the 3rd ranked news source for New Zealanders accessing information about the EU, the usage of television news far outweighs that of internet news consumption. Thus, this research assumes that television news is, for many New Zealanders, their “principal channel”²⁷⁰ of information on the EU. If we are to understand the external images and perceptions of the EU existing globally, then we need to understand and

²⁶⁷ Source: Natalia Chaban and Martin Holland, “The EU Through the Eyes of the Asia-Pacific”, 48.

²⁶⁸ Claude Moisy, “Myths of the Global Information Village”, *Foreign Policy* 107, 1997.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 78. See also: Mic Dover, “Beyond the Wire”, *Listener*, 26 August 2006; Joanne Black, “Read all About it”, *Listener*, 26 August 2006.

²⁷⁰ W. Phillips Davison, Donald Shanor, and Yu, F. T. *News from Abroad and the Foreign Policy*, Headline Series No. 250, (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1980).

compare ‘pictures’ and meanings assigned to the EU by the international public in various regions. In the case of New Zealanders, these ‘pictures’ are argued to be ‘painted’ largely by the television news media.

2.2.3 Looking in the ‘Mirror’: New Zealand Television News

June 1st, 1960 is an important date in the history of New Zealand’s media. While the rest of the world had been tuning in to broadcast television networks like the BBC in Britain, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in America and the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) in Australia for years, it was not until that night in June, 1960 that New Zealanders were able to watch their first television broadcast, although even then the broadcast was unavailable outside Auckland.²⁷¹ It would take another two years before the country as far south as Dunedin would receive television transmissions, and another seven years again before the first network news bulletin was to be viewed across the country.²⁷²

Since its early years, television in New Zealand has had a tempestuous history. Successive government interventions have seen the broadcasting system shift from a monopoly public broadcaster to a fully deregulated and commercially-dictated system; a shift which has had important consequences for the industry, as discussed later. Initially the country’s only network was operated through the New Zealand Broadcasting Service (NZBS), which before the advent of television had operated the country’s radio services. By 1962 the Broadcasting Act had created the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation (NZBC) which operated as a state-owned corporation charged with managing and developing public broadcasting.²⁷³ During the 1970s,

²⁷¹ Simon Cross and John Henderson, “Public Images and Private Lives: The Media and Politics in New Zealand”, *Parliamentary Affairs* 57, No. 1 (2004); Television New Zealand, “The Early Years”, Inside TVNZ, <http://tvnz.co.nz/view/page/816460/823802>.

²⁷² *Ibid.*

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

technical developments focused on improving the reach and reception of the NZBC's transmission, also shifting from black and white coverage to colour. By 1975, a second channel (Television Two) was added to the line up, and in 1976, a new Broadcasting Act placed control of all state-owned broadcasting services under the auspices of the newly established Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand (BCNZ).²⁷⁴

The 1980s in New Zealand were a period of intense political and social change with the introduction of 'Rogernomics',²⁷⁵ and the swift privatisation of many state-owned entities, and government attention was soon given to implementing radical reforms of the broadcasting industry. The move to fully deregulate the broadcasting system of New Zealand has arguably been the key factor shaping the direction of New Zealand broadcasting.²⁷⁶

Deregulation of the media industry in New Zealand saw the splitting of the BCNZ into two state-owned enterprises (SOEs): Radio New Zealand Ltd., and Television New Zealand Ltd. (TVNZ), the latter of which would operate through the two existing channels, Television One (TV1) and Television Two (TV2). For the first time, TVNZ would be required to be commercially viable, while still maintaining a mandate of public service, producing programmes which would "reflect and develop New Zealand's identity and culture".²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁵ Rogernomics is a widely used term to refer to the economic policies implemented by New Zealand Finance Minister Roger Douglas during the 1980s. Specifically, Douglas initiated a period of rapid and dramatic reform of the New Zealand economy, including such actions as the privatisation of many major government assets and the removal of agricultural subsidies and barriers to trade. For more see: Brian Eston, ed., *The Making of Rogernomics*, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989); Simon Walker, ed., *Rogernomics: Reshaping New Zealand's Economy*, (Wellington: GP Books, 1989).

²⁷⁶ Barry Spicer, Michael Powell, and David Emanuell, *The Remaking of Television New Zealand: 1984-1992*, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996); Judy McGregor and Margie Comrie, *What's News? Reclaiming Journalism in New Zealand*, (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 2002); Daniel Cook, "Deregulation and Broadcast News Content: One Network News 1984 to 1996", in *New Zealand Television: A Reader*, edited by John Farnsworth and Ian Hutchinson, (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press Ltd., 2001).

²⁷⁷ Barry Spicer, Michael Powell, and David Emanuell, *The Remaking of Television New Zealand*, 15.

However deregulation also paved the way for new privately owned broadcasters to establish themselves in the local market, with Television Three (TV3) the first to take up this opportunity. TV3 though, did not have successful beginnings and the company went into receivership a little over a year after its initial formation. This event also had dramatic effects on the broadcasting system of New Zealand. Until that time, restrictions had been placed on foreign ownership of New Zealand media outlets, but the need to encourage foreign investment in TV3, in order to ensure a soundly competitive market system of broadcasting, prompted the removal of such restrictions and paved the way for CanWest, a Canadian media conglomerate, to buy the floundering company.²⁷⁸ Today, New Zealand remains the only developed country in the world to have no restrictions on levels of foreign media ownership or ownership in different media. As McGregor and Comrie have noted, “[g]lobal media magnates such as Rupert Murdoch and conglomerates such as CanWest cannot believe their luck”,²⁷⁹ when they discover that New Zealand’s “laissez faire” approach to media ownership places no restrictions on cross-media ownership, and does not require a company to disaffiliate from one media interest in order to buy another.²⁸⁰

Much of the scholarship on the New Zealand broadcast media has focused on the effects of both deregulation and the introduction of a fully commercial private television network (TV3) into the market. These two events are considered to have dramatically altered the broadcasting landscape in New Zealand. Indeed, it has been noted that:

...[a]ggressive commercialism has been the most dominant change-agent influencing New Zealand journalism in the past twenty years. The impact of deregulation on television and the increasing power of global media

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁹ Judy McGregor and Margie Comrie, “Changing Patterns”, in *What’s News?*, edited by Margie Comrie and Judy McGregor, 14.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

conglomerates as owners of print media has significantly altered the face of the news.²⁸¹

One of the most prolific commentators on the television news media of New Zealand, Atkinson's studies have chiefly concentrated on the negative trends that have developed in the television news media, and in particular have been concerned with what the author has perceived as three important and detrimental developments in New Zealand television news programming: its 'Americanisation', 'morselisation', and 'depoliticisation'.²⁸² Atkinson's 1994 study described how the introduction of American news consultants in New Zealand in the late 1980s to assist TVNZ in coping with the forthcoming private competition, led to a number of negative developments. Atkinson found that One News²⁸³ visually transformed under the guidance of these consultants, to become a flashy, 'high-tech' programme designed to develop an emotional familial connection between the viewers and the bulletin presenters – the on-screen "news family".²⁸⁴ The new on-screen chats and informality between news presenters and an increase in human interest stories were identified by the author as fundamental contributors to this viewer attachment.²⁸⁵ The importance of the commercial imperative in the late 1980s was seen by Atkinson as a major reason behind these moves, as ensuring that viewers felt a sense of attachment towards the television news programmes and their presenters meant that they would be more likely to watch regardless of content,²⁸⁶ thus pleasing producers and advertisers alike.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

²⁸² See also: Daniel Cook, "Deregulation and Broadcast News Content".

²⁸³ At the time this programme was called One Network News, which is part of the sub-title of Atkinson's paper. For simplification, the programme is referred to throughout by its current name, One News.

²⁸⁴ Joe Atkinson, "The Americanisation of One Network News", *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 13, No. 1, (1994), 9.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

Atkinson's studies have also found that One News has become more "packaged" since deregulation, in order to make the news both more predictable and entertaining.²⁸⁷ TV1's news bulletins have become faster paced and more compressed, and there has been a resultant shortening of articles and a decrease in expert analysis. This negative phenomenon was termed by Atkinson, the 'morselisation' of the news.²⁸⁸ Accompanying this 'morselisation' on TV1's prime time news was a decrease in international news in general, and often a lack of coverage of complex and contentious issues. The international news which was presented was found by the author to be primarily sensationalist in nature, while human-interest stories, human and natural disasters, and scandals were found to be the most frequently presented themes.²⁸⁹ Finally, Atkinson has given much attention to the increase in 'soft' news at TVNZ, at the expense of 'hard' political stories,²⁹⁰ claiming that there has been a "removal of serious discourse about public affairs" on One News.²⁹¹

Edwards has also explored the results of increased commercialism on the quality and content of TV1's prime time news programming. His 1992 paper described a phenomenon similar to Atkinson's morselisation and depoliticisation thesis, but coined a new term for the trend; "the Cootchie Coo news".²⁹² Broadly, the 'Cootchie Coo news' trend can be explained as a failure by TV1:

...to present the news event in a neutral or disinterested way. The reporting was either coloured by the perception of the journalist, bureau chief,

²⁸⁷ Joe Atkinson, "Putting Humpty Together Again: Will the Charter Change Richard and Judy?", *Third Annual Chapman Lecture*, University of Auckland, 20 May 2002, 2.

²⁸⁸ Joe Atkinson, "Political Discourse", *Mental Health News*, (1993); Joe Atkinson, "The Americanisation of One Network News".

²⁸⁹ Joe Atkinson, "Political Discourse".

²⁹⁰ Joe Atkinson, "Political Discourse", 10; Joe Atkinson, "The Americanisation of One Network News", 17; Joe Atkinson, "Putting Humpty Together Again, 7-8.

²⁹¹ Joe Atkinson, "The Americanisation of One Network News".

²⁹² Brian Edwards, "The Cootchie Coo News", in *Whose News?* edited by Judy McGregor and Margie Comrie, (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1992).

producer or newsreader who wrote or re-wrote the script, or [was] overlaid with sentiment in an attempt to hook the viewer with an emotional response. Objective journalism [had given way] to sympathy, prejudice and sheer drama.²⁹³

These changes to the TV1 news format, making it “no longer a dispassionate recital of the day’s events at home and abroad, but a dramatic and frequently melodramatic presentation of the good, the bad and the ugly”,²⁹⁴ had occurred, in Edwards’ opinion, in response to the threat of competition by TV3. In a later paper, revisiting the notion of the ‘Cootchie Coo news’, Edwards found that not only had the situation at TV1 not improved, but that TV3 had evolved similarly, so that a ‘Cootchie Coo’ approach to news presentation was now all that was available to the New Zealand television news consumer. As noted by Cross and Henderson, such trends are significant to be aware of, because, “[i]n a small country [such as New Zealand], the media have the potential to exercise a disproportionate influence”,²⁹⁵ however, it is also important to note that these negative developments in the New Zealand television news space are not a unique New Zealand experience, but in fact that similar trends have been noted to exist almost universally.²⁹⁶

While there is a sizable collection of studies examining the negative and often “antisocial role of the television programme”²⁹⁷ in New Zealand, in terms of the broad research into the television news, it has been argued that New Zealand is “perhaps unique amongst Western developed nations for its poor tradition of criticism and debate [on issues concerning the role and effectiveness of the news media]”.²⁹⁸

²⁹³ Brian Edwards, “The Cootchie Coo News Revisted”, in *Whose News? Reclaiming Journalism in New Zealand*, edited by Judy McGregor and Margie Comrie, (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 2002), 17.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 18.

²⁹⁵ Simon Cross and John Henderson, “Public Images and Private Lives”, 142.

²⁹⁶ Jay Blumler, “Origins of the Crisis of Communication for Citizenship”, 396.

²⁹⁷ Claudia Bell, “All We Need to Know Because TV Tells Us So”, in *New Zealand Television: A Reader*, edited by John Farnsworth and Ian Hutchinson, (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 2001).

²⁹⁸ Judy McGregor and Margie Comrie, “Changing Patterns”, 9.

Indeed, in terms of the focus of this thesis on portrayals of foreign actors on television news, there have been no studies to date which can provide a benchmark for comparison, although two somewhat useful studies should be noted. While conducting a study that involved the “detailed textual analysis” of only a single news bulletin, Crofts noted of TV1’s coverage to foreign news that, “[o]verseas items...imply that we live in a better, safer place than the world’s troublespots, which – typically of international television news worldwide – constitute the bulk of overseas news”.²⁹⁹ In contrast to Crofts rather limited scope, Taira has conducted a sizeable study of foreign news presentation in the print media of New Zealand. Given the focus of that study on the newspapers, it is not directly comparable to the broadcast situation, but it does offer some interesting insights into the editorial approach to overseas coverage in New Zealand. Taira’s study of the five major metropolitan daily newspapers in New Zealand in 2002 found that while foreign news continued to occupy a significant proportion of the daily news ‘space’ in these newspapers, there was a particular reliance on the material from foreign wire services in this coverage, and also a primary focus on military violence, crime and domestic politics, and a particular interest in news from Australia, the United States and the UK.³⁰⁰

2.3 REVIEWING THE TOP STORIES

This chapter has outlined the various fields of academic enquiry that underlie the investigations of this thesis. Although the studies discussed have been varied, it is argued that there are strong connections between them, and that the interdisciplinary approach of this research can offer insights both for the EU, and for scholars of European integration.

²⁹⁹ Stephen Crofts, “Television News”, in *Television in New Zealand: Programming the Nation*, edited by Roger Horrocks and Nick Perry, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2004), 268.

³⁰⁰ Eliana Taira, “Foreign News in New Zealand’s Metropolitan Press”, (MA Thesis, University of Canterbury, New Zealand, 2003).

The EU is said to suffer from a lack of legitimacy, prompted in part by the perception of a democratic deficit within the Union, and a lack of citizen identification and belief in the European integration project. These notions, however, as has been seen above, are not uncontested. While some argue that the evidence of the democratic deficit is rife within the EU, others contend that in fact, these evaluations of democracy used inappropriate standards which unfairly question the intent and nature of the EU. This thesis accepts the argument that the EU suffers from a flawed democratic foundation, primarily because there is a perception of such a deficit amongst the citizens of the EU, and it is argued that unless the European public feels some level of agency in the evolving EU, then it will never be fully legitimated.

In addition to the democratic challenges, it has been seen that the EU also suffers from a fundamental communication problem. It has, until very recently, been seen to be largely unable to communicate itself and its policies effectively, which has arguably contributed to the sense of distance that the European public feel from the EU and its institutions. Compounding this, a number of recent studies have found that the EU is often invisible in the European media, and that when it is visible, its representation is characterised by a prominence of national attitudes and actors over the Community-level ones, and a relatively high level of negativity.

The debate about the EU's identity has also contributed to its argued lack of legitimacy. As was discussed above, there is little consensus on whether a cohesive EU identity is desirable, let alone whether such a development already exists. However, it has been argued that the evolution of a civic conception of the EU; an identity which highlights the values and ideals behind the integration project may be one very real way of helping to foster a sense of belief and ownership in the EU, and thus to improve its democratic foundations, and as a consequence, its legitimacy.

If the European project continues to lack legitimacy, there is arguably a very real danger of stagnation and regression in integration. This thesis aims to contribute to the ongoing debate about the identity of the EU and as a consequence its legitimization, by offering an external perspective on the EU; how it is identified and represented outside of its borders. As has been discussed above, such a perspective is argued to be useful to the EU, as it offers insights into the development and execution of its policies, as well as indicating whether a cohesive image of an EU identity is understood outside of its borders. Figure 2.2 shows how the addition of this external perspective feeds into the EU's legitimacy and identity debate. Although there are other factors which may shape people's perceptions, in the case of perceptions of external actors like the EU the news media are considered in this thesis to play a particularly important role.

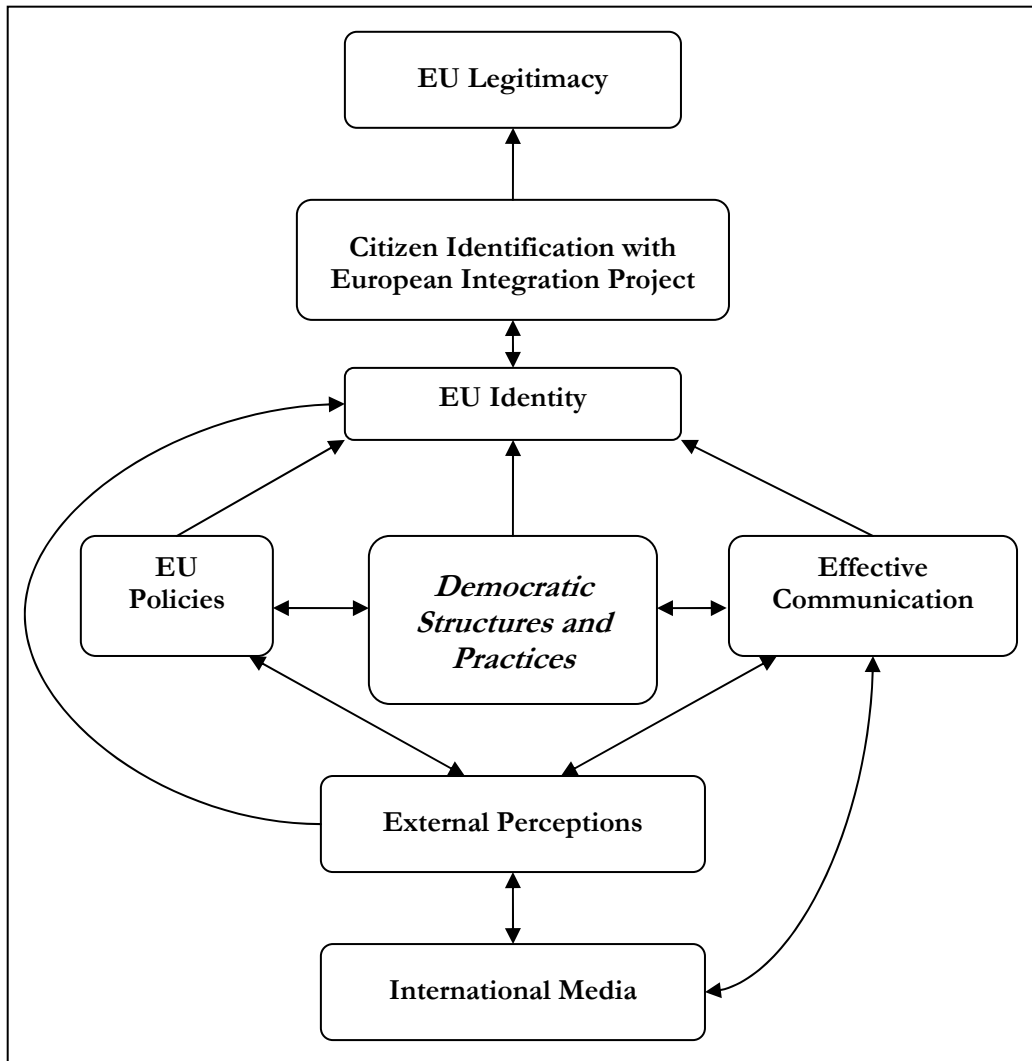


Figure 2.2: Influences and Contributing Factors for EU Legitimacy Considered in Thesis

Since the news media, and in the New Zealand case particularly, the television news media play a fundamental role in shaping the images and perceptions of external partners then, this thesis purports to examine how the EU is presented in the ‘mirror’ of the New Zealand television news media. As has been seen, this specific television news space is one that is currently characterised by high levels of negativity and superficiality, trends that were provoked by the dual impacts of deregulation and increased commercialism in New Zealand.

In light of the challenges facing the EU, as well as the structures of the New Zealand television news environment, it is interesting to enquire whether the EU's apparent failure to communicate effectively within its borders will correspond to a communication deficit externally also, and whether or how the arguably negative trends identified in New Zealand's television news will impact on the portrayal of the EU within that news sphere.

CHAPTER 3

THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

“The world that we have to deal with politically is out of reach, out of sight, out of mind. It has to be explored, reported and imagined”.
Walter Lippman, 1922³⁰¹

The previous chapter outlined the wider context underpinning this research. It posited that the EU is perceived to be suffering from a crisis of democracy and legitimacy, prompted to some extent by the lack of identification that citizens feel towards the EU, and by the failure by the EU to effectively communicate itself to those citizens. It was also seen that the EU has thus far failed to recognise the importance of effective *external* communication, and how this may help to facilitate its internal legitimisation by boosting its international recognition. As such, this thesis investigates an *external* perspective on the EU, viewed through the lens of the New Zealand television news media. Before these investigations can be made, however, it is first necessary to conceptually ground the research approach and discuss the specific methodology that was employed. This chapter opens by exploring the constructivist foundations of the research before discussing more fully the role that the news media play in the formation of perceptions on international actors like the EU. It concludes with a detailed description of the methodological tools used to explore the images of the EU that were portrayed in the New Zealand television news media throughout 2004.

³⁰¹ Walter Lippman, *Public Opinion*, 29.

3.1 'CONSTRUCTING' THE CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS

Berger and Luckmann, in their highly influential 1966 treatise claimed that everyday human reality is a social construction. The two authors famously argued at that time that society exists both as an objective reality and as a subjective reality; that individuals interacting with the facts and situations of the objective world in turn interpret those encounters and impose subjective meanings onto them.³⁰² This 'knowledge' of their world that individuals thus create for themselves constitutes, according to Berger and Luckmann, "the fabric of meanings without which no society could exist".³⁰³ The subjective knowledge discussed by Berger and Luckmann is thus an intrinsic part of the individual's experience of the world – their subjective construction of meaning becomes their reality. In this way the, "[i]deas, institutions and practices that come to seem natural and unquestionable are in fact conventions that are solidified by various means".³⁰⁴

One of these 'various means', and arguably an important one, is language. The approach of discourse analysis contends that the essential component of what Berger and Luckmann termed the social construction of reality, is language. At its most simplistic, discourse analysis focuses on texts and 'talk' as social practices which actively shape and build these 'constructions'.³⁰⁵ This is because, as one analyst noted, "[a]nything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position: language is not a clear window but a refracting,

³⁰² Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, (London: Penguin, 1966).

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, 27.

³⁰⁴ Mary O'Connor, "Can We Trace the 'Efficacy of Social Constructivism'?", *Review of Research in Education* 23 (1998), 27-28.

³⁰⁵ Jonathon Potter, "Discourse Analysis and Constructionist Approaches: A Theoretical Background", in *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for Psychology and the Social Sciences*, edited by John Richardson, (Leicester: BPS Books, 1996).

structuring medium”.³⁰⁶ The traditional French school of discourse analysis has focused on the power structures that these constructions of reality create,³⁰⁷ while this thesis instead picks up on Fairclough’s ‘post-structuralist’ definition of discourse which stressed what the author described as the “ideational” and “interpersonal” roles of language: “...the ideational function of language [being] its function in generating *representations of the world*; [and] the interpersonal function includ[ing] the functioning of language in the *constitution of relations, and of identities*”.³⁰⁸ In this sense then, the language of the news media – whether written, as in newspapers, or spoken and visualised as in television news – can be understood as a discursive practice in constructing reality. Thus, the news (in what ever media form) is, in this thesis, understood as discourse, which, in the words of Fairclough is “a social construction of reality, [and] a form of knowledge”.³⁰⁹

The ability of news discourses to construct images of the world for people – to paraphrase Walter Lippman, to explore, describe and imagine the events and happenings beyond their own immediate experience – gives newsmakers, according to discourse analysts, a significant degree of power and influence, because, as van Dijk noted, “...action is controlled by our minds. So if we are able to influence people’s minds...we indirectly may control (some of) their actions”.³¹⁰ While news producers and journalists tend to claim that their job is to simply hold a “mirror”³¹¹ up to the world and provide a simple reflection of it in their reports, in truth (and as discussed

³⁰⁶ Roger Fowler, *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*, (London: Routledge, 1991), 10.

³⁰⁷ See: Robert Barsky, “Discourse Analysis Theory”, in *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory: Approaches, Scholars, Terms*, edited by Irena Makaryk, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), <http://sociocritique.mcgill.ca/theorie/discourse%20theorie.htm>; Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, (New York: Pantheon, 1980); Teun Van Dijk, “Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis”, *Discourse and Society* 4, No. 2, (1994), 251.

³⁰⁸ Norman Fairclough, *Media Discourse*, (London: Arnold, 1995), 17. Emphasis added.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

³¹⁰ Teun van Dijk, “Critical Discourse Analysis”, 355.

³¹¹ Sig Mickelson, *The Electric Mirror: Politics in an Age of Network Television*, (New York: Dodd Mead, 1972), cited in Thomas Patterson, “Political Roles of the Journalist”, 17.

in the previous chapter), newsmakers are presenting a “highly selective account of events”,³¹² that is filtered in a variety of ways. Lau has argued that there are both extraneous and internal factors which operate as a filter on journalists in their production of news. Extraneous factors include government regulation, a range of technical and logistical factors, as well as newspaper size and the specific demands of the media outlet’s owners.³¹³ Those factors internal to journalists include their particular ideologies and values, as well as the specific journalistic practices to which they adhere.³¹⁴

As with all pictures, those images in the news media are *created*, however, not by artists but rather by journalists, camera operators, news editors and producers, all operating within a tightly bound system of norms and procedures. Like artists, newsmakers must make creative and compositional choices in depicting their subject matter, as well as being limited by the political, financial and technical realities of the newsroom. In social sciences, these journalistic decisions and choices have come to be known as *framing*. Will the ‘artist’ make their picture a wide landscape with lots of background imagery, or, as is more often the case in news ‘pictures’, will the attention be focused more acutely on a particular scene or event? This thesis is an investigation into the framing mechanisms which are applied in the process of shaping the EU image on New Zealand television news. What aspects of the EU reality are included within the New Zealand television news bulletins’ ‘painting’ of the EU ‘picture’? What influences the choices of the newsmakers in the framing process? Are a variety of frames utilised, or is there one consistent framing which is repeatedly employed? And what are the implications of such framing decisions, for the general public and national elites, as well as for the EU’s public foreign policy making?

³¹² Thomas Patterson, “Political Roles of the Journalist”, 17.

³¹³ Raymond Lau, “Critical Realism and News Production, *Media, Culture, and Society* 26, No. 5, (2004), 695.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Investigations of framing have been undertaken in a broad range of areas – they are not limited to studies of the news media, or indeed to the media generally. There has been little cohesion in the approaches to framing, however, and both Entman and later, Scheufele, have noted that the framing discipline itself is a “fractured paradigm”.³¹⁵ In media communication studies, which adopted the notion of framing, there are broadly two aspects to the concept: individual frames (also known as audience frames), and media frames. Kinder and Sanders described individual frames as the “internal structures of the mind”, and media frames as the “devices embedded in political discourse”.³¹⁶ It has been noted that when thinking about their world, people think in terms of frames,³¹⁷ and these individual frames at their most fundamental are the “mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals’ processing of information”.³¹⁸ These frames operate to “direct attention to relevant information, guide its interpretation and evaluation...and facilitate its retention”.³¹⁹ Individual or audience frames, “organize the world for both journalists who report it, and in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports”.³²⁰

However, owing to the need to restrict the focus of an investigation in order to enable its realistic execution, this thesis focuses specifically on news frames, while acknowledging the role that the individual frames of a journalist may operate to shape the production of these news frames. News media frames have been described as “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of

³¹⁵ Robert Entman, “Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm”; Dietram Scheufele, “Framing as a Theory of Media Effects”, *Journal of Communication* 43, No. 1 (1999).

³¹⁶ Donald Kinder and Lynn Sanders, “Mimicking Political Debate with Survey Questions: The Case of White Opinion on Affirmative Action for Blacks”, *Social Cognition* 8 (1990), 74. See also Dietram Scheufele, “Framing as a Theory of Media Effects”.

³¹⁷ George Lakoff, *Don’t Think of an Elephant: Know Your Values and Frame the Debate*, (Scribe Publishers, Carlton North, 2005), 73.

³¹⁸ Robert Entman, “Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm”, 53.

³¹⁹ Susan Fiske and Donald Kinder, “Involvement, Expertise, and Schema Use: Evidence from Political Cognition”, in *Personality, Cognition and Social Interaction* edited by Nancy Cantor and John Kihlstrom, (Hillsdale, N.J: Erlbaum, 1981), 173, cited in, Doris Graber, *Processing the News*, 28.

³²⁰ Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 7.

events...The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue”.³²¹ More broadly, media framing refers to the “select[ion] of some aspects of a perceived reality [to] make them more salient in a communicating text”.³²² The highly restricted environment of the news media, and particularly the television news media, in which there is insufficient space and time to cover all events occurring daily, requires that choices be made regarding which events will be prioritised, over which others, and how these events and issues will be presented to news audiences.³²³ The fundamental commercial need for news organisations and outlets to retain audience attention and interest means that those events that are presented in the news must be readily comprehensible to the average news consumer. If incorrect selection decisions are made, then the risk of a television news viewer ‘tuning out’ or changing the channel is heightened.

Many studies of news and political communication are concerned primarily with the effects of various news frames on their audiences.³²⁴ In contrast, while acknowledging that this is a key component of news studies, this study restricts its focus primarily to the product of news itself. In this sense, the research adopts an inductive approach to analysing news frames, as outlined by Semetko and Valkenburg, whereby a news item is analysed “...with an open view to attempt to reveal the array of possible frames,

³²¹ William Gamson and Andre Modigliani, “The Changing Culture of Affirmative Action”, in *Research in Political Sociology Vol .3.*, edited by Richard Braungart and Margaret Braungart, (Greenwich: JAI Press, 1987), 143, cited in Dietram Scheufele, “Framing as a Theory of Media Effects”, 106.

³²² Robert Entman, “Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm”, 52.

³²³ Doris Graber, Denis McQuail and Pippa Norris, “Introduction: Political Communication in a Democracy”, 2.

³²⁴ In addition to those discussed here, see also: W. Lance Bennett, “Constructing Publics and Their Opinions”, *Political Communication* 10, (1993), 101-120; Robert Entman, “Framing US Coverage of International News: Contrasts in Narratives of the KAL and Iran Air Incidents”, *Journal of Communication* 41, No. 4, (1991), 6-27; William Gamson, “News as Framing: Comments on Graber”, *American Behavioral Scientist* 33, (1989), 157-166; Shanto Iyengar, “TV News and Citizens’ Explanation of National Affairs”, *American Political Science Review* 81, (1987), 815-831; Vincent Price, David Tewksbury, and Elizabeth Powers, “Switching Trains of Thought: The Impact of News Frames on Readers’ Cognitive Responses”, *Communication Research* 24, (1997), 481-506; Dietram Scheufele, “Framing as a Theory of Media Effects”.

beginning with very loosely defined preconceptions of these frames”.³²⁵ The ‘loosely defined’ preconceived frames which guided this analysis from the outset were the political, economic or social orientation of the EU depictions. Semetko and Valkenburg’s own deductive approach, in which they monitored news on the EU within various European countries employing a predetermined set of news frames that had been well-established in the European news sphere, although legitimate, was unsuitable for this particular study. There is little research on the existence of such news frames outside the EU, and, specifically, there have been no studies to date which examine the images of the EU as an external actor within the New Zealand television news sphere. Therefore, it was important that this study approached the television news analysis of EU imagery from as wide a perspective as possible. The thesis is thus an explorative study, aimed at being broadly replicable at later dates and in different locations, and as such, it lays the groundwork for future endeavours in the studies of the EU’s external images, an overlooked area in EU external policy making.

3.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

To examine the framing of the EU’s external representations within an international television news sphere, a number of research questions were posited. The primary research question enquired:

- How is the EU framed in the television news media of New Zealand, an external ‘Other’ of the EU?

Additional sub-questions were posed in order to more fully address the primary research question. These were:

³²⁵ Holli Semetko and Patti Valkenburg, “Framing European Politics”.

- What are the essential content features of the EU's image on New Zealand television news?
- What are the in-depth visual and textual features of the EU's representation on New Zealand television news?
- How does the New Zealand television news framing of the EU compare with that of the wider Asia-Pacific region?

To attempt to account for the particular framing mechanisms employed in the depictions of the EU within the New Zealand television news space, a further sub-question asked:

- How does the framing of the EU relate to the dominant values and processes of foreign news production in New Zealand?

3.3 METHODS AND DATA

As discussed in the previous chapter, the EU is understood to be suffering from a communication deficit, that is, an acute inability on the part of EU institutions at both European and national levels to effectively communicate the impacts and benefits of the integration process to the citizens of Europe. Much is being done by the EU to address this deficit. Indeed, such is the concern of the EU governing bodies about this growth in citizen indifference towards the integration process, that the European Council instigated in 2005 a broad 'reflection period' aimed at creating public and political dialogue both on the problematic (and now defunct) Constitutional Treaty, and also more broadly, on how the EU can better connect and communicate with its citizens. Addressing the previously discussed issues of the EU's perceived legitimacy, democratic and communication deficits,³²⁶ a new communication strategy, known as

³²⁶ See: Christoph Meyer, "Political Legitimacy and the Invisibility of Politics"; Claes de Vreese, *Communicating Europe*; Margot Wallström, "Communicating Europe in Stormy Waters"; Margot Wallström, "Slow Progress on Communication Strategy Due to Commission's Internal Problem".

“Plan-D”, has been devised by the current Commission.³²⁷ The aim of this strategy, in conjunction with that of the broader ‘reflection period’, is to create public *dialogue* and *debate* about how best to inform and communicate with the citizens of Europe, in order to enhance the *democratic* foundations of the Union. The so-called deficits and crises of the EU will continue to be a problem, it is felt, until the citizens of Europe are more fully aware of how the EU is relevant to them and until they feel some level of shared ownership in the European project.³²⁸ As the Commission itself recently noted, “[a]ny vision of the future of Europe needs to build on a clear view on citizen’s needs and expectations”.³²⁹ Attaining this goal is the claimed intent of Plan-D and the ‘reflection period’ debates, and ‘sharing’ various aspects of Europe with its public is clearly the intent of newer Commission initiatives like EUtube.³³⁰ As was outlined in Chapter 2, much research has been conducted in an attempt to identify levels of internal EU-communication, and these are providing a wealth of information about the perceptions of the EU within its borders.

Thus far, however, perceptions of the EU outside of its borders have largely been ignored. And indeed, within the EU’s communication strategies, communicating with the outside world is still considered to be of secondary importance, despite the Union proudly boasting 130 Delegations worldwide.³³¹ Yet, as Manners and Whitman have noted, “...identity is a question of standpoint. To capture the entire complexity of the EU’s international identity therefore requires consideration of a multiple number of

³²⁷ Margot Wallström, “Communicating a Europe in Stormy Waters”.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*

³²⁹ European Commission, “The Commission’s Contribution to the Period of Reflection and Beyond”, 2.

³³⁰ See Chapter 1 for further discussion of such ‘popular’ Commission initiatives, and also: <http://www.youtube.com/user/eutube>.

³³¹ European Commission, *Taking Europe to the World: More than 50 Years of the European Commission’s External Service*, (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2004), 3.

standpoints”.³³² Thus, to restrict the ‘reflection’ on the EU’s identity to *within* the Union risks overlooking an additionally valuable perspective from *outside*.

The lack of attention given to these external perceptions of the EU is problematic then, but this is not to say that external perceptions of the EU have been entirely neglected; Philomena Murray’s investigation of Australian elite perceptions of the EU, and Natalia Chaban’s study of New Zealand print media and public and elite perceptions provided an excellent starting point for future research. This thesis builds on these forerunners, and thus is an important progression in the development of a comprehensive understanding of external perceptions of the EU.

Murray’s research focused on Australia’s engagement with the EU in order to more fully understand the basis of the “intransigence, conflict and mutual misunderstanding”,³³³ seen to characterise the EU-Australia relationship on both sides. In a series of elite surveys conducted with Australian policy makers as well as members of the local business and academic communities with a professional interest in Europe, Murray identified a marked preference by Australia to engage with Europe from a traditional bilateral approach, struggling it seemed, to employ what the author described as a “new regional bilateralism”³³⁴ for dealing with the new European ‘superpower’. The traditional Britain-Australia connection, and the conflictual nature of the trading relationship (influenced primarily by the Common Agricultural Policy) between the EU and Australia were found in Murray’s study to be key factors contributing to the mutual misunderstandings. The elites interviewed in that study were found to have perceptions of the relationship that were not in-step with the

³³² Ian Manners and Richard Whitman, ““The Difference Engine””, 237.

³³³ Philomena Murray, *Australia and the European Superpower: Engaging with the European Union*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press), 2005, 1.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*

objective reality, and Murray argued that unless efforts were made by both sides, important opportunities for cooperation and growth would be lost.³³⁵

Chaban's research constituted a ground-breaking empirical initiative by broadly investigating the images of the EU in the New Zealand print media, amongst the general public of New Zealand and in the political, media and business elites of New Zealand. The study found an overall low visibility of the EU in the New Zealand press, and a high proportion of domesticised news amongst what coverage that did exist, and a corresponding low level of importance accorded to the EU by the New Zealand public. In the interviews with New Zealand elites, Chaban found a "diversity of attitudes [which] ranged on a scale from Europhiles to Euro-sceptics".³³⁶

The launch of the Asia-Pacific Perceptions (APP) project in 2004 built on these two forerunners' examination of the external perceptions of the EU. No other such studies had been undertaken prior to this, despite the approach being advocated as essential to understanding how the EU is understood by its foreign counterparts,³³⁷ and providing beneficial feedback on the EU's foreign policy role which may contribute to an increased sense of political identity within its borders,³³⁸ as was discussed in the previous chapter. Thus in an attempt at addressing the absence of empirical research in this field, the APP project was conceptualised, and it is under the auspices of the project that this thesis was conducted.

Officially entitled "Public, Elite and Media Perceptions of the EU in the Asia-Pacific Region", the APP project was the first trans-national research project to investigate

³³⁵ Philomena Murray, "What Australians Think About the EU: National Interests in a Transnational Setting", in *Public, Elite and Media Perceptions of the EU in the Asia-Pacific*, edited by Natalia Chaban and Martin Holland.

³³⁶ Natalia Chaban, "Rediscovering Europe". See also: Natalia Chaban and Jessica Bain, "Peripheral and Invisible?: The European Union in the New Zealand Media, 2000-2002", *CERC Working Papers Series*, No. 2, (2004), University of Melbourne, Australia.

³³⁷ Philip Fiske de Gouveia and Hester Plumridge, *European Infopolitik*, 22.

³³⁸ Sonia Lucarelli, "EU Political Identity, Foreign Policy and External Image", 2.

and compare the perceptions of the EU outside of its borders in a number of countries. Public, elite and media imagery of the EU were explored in four Asia-Pacific countries, Australia, New Zealand, South Korea and Thailand. 2004 was chosen as the starting year for the project because this year was considered to be an exceptional one in terms of EU integration and development. The major event for the EU during this year was, of course, its enlargement in May 2004, when ten new countries joined its ranks. Eight former Soviet-bloc countries and two small Mediterranean states acceded to the Union on May 1st 2004, marking the EU's biggest and most controversial enlargement to date. In addition, the EP held elections, the final draft of the new 'EU constitution' was completed, and a new European Commission was also appointed. A number of unplanned EU-related events also occurred during 2004, heightening the EU's activities during this time. In March, a sequence of train bomb attacks in Madrid prompted an immediate EU response, while later in the year it negotiated a controversial Russian ratification of the Kyoto protocol and was seen to be a key player involved in the presidential election crisis in the Ukraine.

2004, then, was an eventful year for the EU, and its activities during this time were monitored in the APP project through the news media in the four participating countries. To address all three components of the study, that is the public, media and elite perceptions, the APP project required the systematic employment of multiple methodologies.³³⁹ The key newspapers and prime-time television news bulletins in each country were monitored on a daily basis for news pertaining to the EU, which was then subject to content analysis to determine the specific EU media framing. The public and elite of the four countries were also surveyed, through broad national telephone surveys in the case of the former, and in a series of in-depth elite interviews in the latter. The analysis of the responses to both the public survey and the elite interviews made evident the audience frames in the Asia-Pacific, which were subsequently compared with the media frames of the EU in its busy 2004 year. Adhering to the APP project's methodology in its analysis, this thesis focuses on the

³³⁹ Russell Neuman, Marion Just, Ann Crigler, *Common Knowledge*, 19.

media component of the project. The methodology of both the thesis and the APP project's media analysis is thus outlined below.

3.3.1. Methodological Influence

In 1979, UNESCO commissioned a broad cross-national study of international news flows, to examine “how the media present other countries, peoples and related issues to readers, listeners and viewers”.³⁴⁰ This highly influential study provided a benchmark for other studies of foreign news representations, and it provided the methodological inspiration for the media analysis in the APP project. The UNESCO study “systematically provid[ed]...information on the quantity and quality of media representations of other countries”,³⁴¹ and it was a landmark study in the investigation of not only international news images, but also in the conduct of trans-national research projects. 29 countries participated in the UNESCO project, and in each of these countries, three or four daily newspapers (including the newspaper with the highest circulation numbers in the country, as well as a variety of other newspapers encompassing, as best as possible, the political and cultural spectrum of the country), and the main daily broadcast bulletin on television and radio in each country were monitored for their coverage of ‘foreign news’.

What was unique about the UNESCO project was that “...the media and communication issues generally were to be studied not in isolation, but in the appropriate historical/political/economic contexts”.³⁴² A two week period was monitored in the 29 participating countries; one chronological week and one constructed week, and the investigations included both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The incorporation of both forms of analysis was considered to provide the

³⁴⁰ Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, “Foreign News in the Media: International Reporting in 29 Countries”, *Reports and Papers on Mass Communication*, No. 93, (UNESCO: Paris, 1985), 3.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, 10.

necessary data for the correct interpretation of statistical data, and to ensure that contextual factors were accounted for.³⁴³ Although the inclusion of news items into the UNESCO-project's sampling pool was only derived from a headline analysis from specific news pages and sections of bulletins,³⁴⁴ and not a full hearing/reading of the entire newscast or paper, the UNESCO project nevertheless generated a number of important findings. Among these were that geographical proximity, or regionalism, plays a key role in determining foreign news coverage, that political news (including politically oriented economic coverage) is overwhelmingly the dominant type of international news, and that "bias is largely in the eye of the reader",³⁴⁵ meaning that the study found no explicit evaluative component to the analysed foreign news.

The authors of the UNESCO study concluded with an appeal to future researchers, and rather wistfully stated, "...[I]et us hope that the opportunity for such studies will not be lost".³⁴⁶ In the case of foreign news on the EU, the UNESCO researchers would perhaps be dismayed to see the void of internationally comparative studies investigating the media's presentation of the EU outside of its borders. The APP project, and this thesis as a part of it were designed to respond to the dearth of such studies, and broadly aimed to raise the awareness of the EU within the Asia-Pacific region, and in the case of this thesis specifically, to investigate how a global actor like the EU is framed in the television news media of its external partners. Some aspects of the UNESCO study's methodology were utilised in constructing the APP project methodology. Before these methodological tools are discussed, it is necessary to define the scope of the current study.

This thesis involved the monitoring and analysis of EU television news in the New Zealand television news sphere, for the entire 12 months of 2004. Many studies of

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁵ Robert Stevenson, "Other Research and the World of News", in *Foreign News in the Media*, edited by Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, 80.

³⁴⁶ Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, "Foreign News in the Media", 10.

news, whether of television or print news, and both trans-national or single-country in focus, often take a more impressionistic approach and investigate only a ‘snapshot’ period of time.³⁴⁷ The UNESCO study was one such project, as its monitoring period was only two weeks. By covering a calendar year of coverage, from 1 January until 31 December 2004, it was hoped that both the APP project and this thesis would be able to capture a more detailed picture of the EU’s ‘portrait’. Television and newspapers were chosen as the monitored media sources, because despite an increase in online news sources, and the continued use of radio as a means of information, the two ‘traditional’ news sources remain the most prominently used in most contexts, and definitely in the four Asia-Pacific countries involved in the APP study.³⁴⁸ Restricting its focus, in order to keep the project’s scope within manageable bounds,³⁴⁹ the APP project monitored five daily newspapers within each of the four countries, and two prime-time television news bulletins, endeavouring in the media selection choices to encompass a range of political, ownership, audience and stylistic trends. The selection of the two broadcast bulletins monitored in New Zealand is discussed below.

Selection of Television News Bulletins

In selecting the television networks for monitoring, this study was constrained by the importance of ensuring a sound comparative foundation for analysis. As was discussed in Chapter 2, the New Zealand news media space is a relatively limited one, owing in part to the small population of New Zealand. In the television news situation, the limitations are even greater. At the time of this study, New Zealand had only two national free to air networks which screened daily news bulletins,³⁵⁰ and it

³⁴⁷ For example: Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, “Foreign News in the Media”; Robert Stevenson, “Remapping the News of the World”, *Foreign News Flows in the 1990s*, (1996), <http://ibiblio.org/newsflow/>.

³⁴⁸ Natalia Chaban and Martin Holland, “The EU Through the Eyes of the Asia-Pacific, 48.

³⁴⁹ Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, “Foreign News in the Media”, 10.

³⁵⁰ Since this project began, a third network in New Zealand has begun screening a nightly news bulletin. *Prime* now screens a half-hour news bulletin from 5.30pm-6.00pm. *Prime* is not currently available to the entire New Zealand population, however with future technological developments, nation-wide access may become available, in which case future studies may consider including *Prime News* in their analysis.

was necessary thus for both to be selected, and to find comparable networks in the other three countries. The networks in New Zealand – TVNZ and TV3 – provided one state-owned network and one fully commercial, and this was also used as the main selection criterion for Australia, South Korea and Thailand.

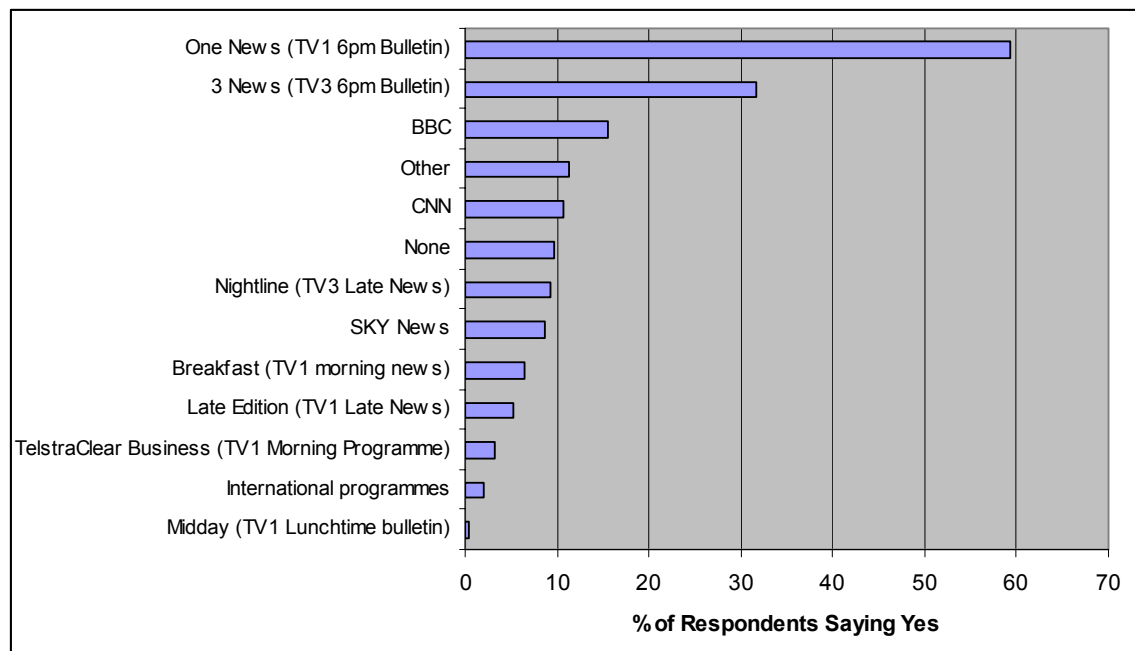


Figure 3.1: Sources of Television News for Information on the EU for New Zealanders (2004)

In the 2004 survey of New Zealand public opinion on the EU it was also found that a majority of New Zealanders utilised either the TV1 or TV3 prime-time news bulletin when using television news for information on the EU (Figure 3.1). Thus, the prime-time (6pm-7pm) news broadcasts on both TVNZ (operating through TV1), and TV3 were monitored in this study.

As discussed in the previous chapter, TVNZ is the founding, and longest running television network in New Zealand, with its first televised broadcast screening in

1960.³⁵¹ Since then, the BBC-formatted network has become the largest nation-wide broadcaster in New Zealand, operating on two channels; TV1 and TV2. The latter is largely a primarily entertainment channel with a focus on a younger demographic, and provides a variety of locally and internationally-made comedies, dramas and movies to its audience,³⁵² and has no daily news programming. TV1 targets an older demographic, and while it also screens much local and international entertainment programming, the channel is most known for its flagship prime-time news bulletin, One News. One News screens nightly at 6pm and has an hour-long format, covering the day's local and international news, as well as sports and weather. Cross and Henderson noted in 2004 that "One News gains a regular audience of 850,000 – about 56 percent of the available market, compared with 24 percent gained by its privately owned rival, 3 News".³⁵³

Owned by Canadian media conglomerate CanWest, TV3 is a relative newcomer to the New Zealand television environment, only beginning transmission in 1989. Since then, TV3 has come to dominate many areas of New Zealand television, and its flagship news programme, 3 News, whilst still running second to One News' first place in the ratings 'battle', has become increasingly influential in the New Zealand television news market, and won the inaugural Qantas Media Award for 'Best News' in 2005.³⁵⁴ TV3 focuses on a slightly younger, more urban demographic than TV1, targeting instead the 18-49 age bracket.³⁵⁵

³⁵¹ Television New Zealand, "The Early Years". At its inception, New Zealand's first television broadcaster was known as the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation (NZBC). In 1980, the NZBC was transformed into the Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand which included the new TV2 channel, as well as TV1 and the national radio network, Radio New Zealand. In 1988, the NZBC was transformed into the state-owned enterprise, Television New Zealand. Television New Zealand, "The Competition Arrives", *Inside TVNZ*, <http://tvnz.co.nz/view/page/826505/823807>.

³⁵² Television New Zealand, "TVNZ's Channels", *Inside TVNZ*, <http://tvnz.co.nz/view/page/816460/845005>.

³⁵³ Simon Cross and John Henderson, "Public Images and Private Lives", 143.

³⁵⁴ Qantas Media Awards, "Previous Awards", <http://www.qantastvawards.co.nz/previous-awards/>.

³⁵⁵ TV3, "Corporate Profile", <http://www.mediaworks.co.nz/Default.aspx?flashEnabled=true>. Accessed 23 May, 2007.

Data Collection

Both the TV1 and TV3 news broadcasts were manually recorded and viewed on a daily basis. Any relevant news items were identified and were subsequently transcribed before detailed analysis was undertaken.³⁵⁶ Two search terms were used to generate the data set of EU television news items; the *European Union*, and/or the *EU*. These two terms were the same as those used in the wider APP project. Mention of either of the EU or the European Union anywhere in a news item warranted its inclusion in the analysis, even if that mention was minor or incidental. While many studies of news restrict their focus to the main sections of newspapers or only the leading stories on a television news bulletin,³⁵⁷ or even only to the headlines, the aim of this thesis was to provide a complete and exhaustive picture of how the EU is represented within external (New Zealand in this case) prime-time television news media, and thus all sections of the television news bulletins were monitored.

3.3.2 A Content Analysis of EU News

Broadly speaking, content analysis can be defined as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts...to the contexts of their use”.³⁵⁸ The use of content analysis in mass communications studies arguably began in earnest after

³⁵⁶ Initially it was intended that the television news texts would be located through the national electronic database Newztel, which claimed to provide a full clipping service for the reporting and commentary of current affairs and political news broadcast on radio and television. However, in the early stages of the project, it became evident that Newztel’s database was incomplete, and was logging only items in which the EU was the major focus. Additionally, the company did not keep a database of news items produced internationally. As this project is concerned with news on an international actor, it was assumed that much of the news on that actor would be produced abroad. Thus, Newztel was determined to be an inadequate tool for data gathering. Many alternate options of data collection were investigated, but the most reliable and consistent method proved to be the manual transcription method described above. Because the problems identified with Newztel’s services were only discovered in the early months of 2004, the news items analysed from January to April were purchased using Newztel’s services. It is possible that the initially unforeseen problems with Newztel may have resulted in an incomplete dataset for the first four months of 2004.

³⁵⁷ For example: Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, “Foreign News in the Media”; Claes de Vreese, et al., “The News Coverage of the 2004 European Parliamentary Election Campaign”.

³⁵⁸ Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*, (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 2004), 18.

Berelson's 1952 work brought together the then disparate approaches to the various analyses of text content, attempting as it did to provide a "systematic and critical organization of the entire field".³⁵⁹ The approach itself however, has not been limited to communication research. Many different disciplines of academic investigation, be they political communication studies, public policy studies, psychology, anthropology, history or linguistics, utilise content analysis as a means of discerning meaning from texts. In its earlier years, content analysis of media productions tended to be highly quantitative in nature; concerned primarily with numbers of news items, numbers of words in an item, space allocations in newspapers, and discerning the repetition of specific aspects of texts.³⁶⁰ Since then, a more qualitative content analysis approach has become increasingly prominent. Indeed, as Krippendorff noted, "[u]ltimately, all reading of texts is qualitative, even when certain characteristics of a text are later converted into numbers".³⁶¹ Fundamentally, whether the focus of a study is to perform a quantitative content analysis, or is more qualitative, the aim is to analyse a text or other matter in such a way as to derive the meaning that it contains.³⁶² To derive these meanings, a set of specific procedures must be determined, which must then be applied to each unit of analysis.

This thesis, and the APP project more broadly, employed a mixed method of content analysis of EU news texts, combining quantitative and qualitative elements in its design. This multi-faceted approach was primarily operationalised within the framework of cognitive studies,³⁶³ namely taking human experience as the main

³⁵⁹ Bernard Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research*, (New York: Hafner Publishing, 1952), 10.

³⁶⁰ Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis*, 16.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*

³⁶² *Ibid.*, 21-22.

³⁶³ Natalia Chaban, *Image of SOVEREIGN UKRAINE in its Verbal Embodiment (on the materials of "The New York Times" publications)*, (Ph.D. dissertation, Kiev State Linguistic University, 1997).

impetus for what the human mind treats as meaningful.³⁶⁴ Within the paradigm, it is accepted that “the knowledge and experience human beings have of the things and events that they know well, is transferred to those other objects and events with which they may not be so familiar”.³⁶⁵ Utilising a cognitive approach in media studies has been advocated in previous research,³⁶⁶ and in this study, employing such a cognitive approach, a news image is regarded as a complex cognitive structure that includes two-fold information processing mechanisms. In the case of EU news on New Zealand television, the image firstly contains information about factual situations in the EU that are relevant for New Zealand media discourse (a denotative element of analysis), and, secondly, it also includes the assessment of those facts that conditions New Zealand general public attitudes (a connotative element of analysis).

Thus, according to the above concepts, a system of analysis was employed to determine the representations of the EU on New Zealand television news which drew on and developed the methodologies used by a number of high profile international news studies,³⁶⁷ including the aforementioned UNESCO project. The categories of the content analysis were grouped into two clusters (see Table 3.1). The first group was termed the ‘formal’ characteristics of news items, and it included the so-called ‘surface’ features of EU news items such as the volume and dynamics of the news coverage, the topics, and the sources of EU news, as well as more in-depth features like the centrality of the EU within the news item, and the degree to which the focus of the news item was on the EU, or another party. In addition to these more ‘formal’ characteristics of EU news, a range of ‘content’ characteristics were also investigated,

³⁶⁴ Iraide Ibarretxe-Antunano, “What’s Cognitive Linguistics? A New Framework for the Study of Basque”, (paper prepared for the *1st International Symposium on Basque Cultural Studies*, London Guildhall University, 2000) 4.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁶ Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak “Critical Discourse Analysis”, in *Discourse as Social Interaction* edited by Teun van Dijk, (London: Sage, 1997), 266

³⁶⁷ See for example: Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, “Foreign News in Media”; Jochen Peter, Holli Semetko, and Claes de Vreese, “EU Politics on Television News”; Deirdre Kevin, *Europe in the Media*, (Lawrence Erlbaum Associates: London, 2003).

in order to more fully explore the ‘framing’ of the EU within the New Zealand television news sphere. These ‘content’ characteristics including the actors involved, the categorisation (or primary framing) of the EU’s actions within the news item, the values of newsworthiness noted in the news item, the evaluation of the EU, as well as the conceptual metaphors which underpin the content. Each of these textual aspects of analysis are discussed in further detail below. The complete content analysis framework can be found in Appendix I, and an example of that framework in use can be found in Appendix III.

Table 3.1: Characteristics of EU News Texts

<i>Formal Characteristics</i>	<i>Content Characteristics</i>
Volume	EU Actors
Dynamics of Coverage	Primary Framing
Network	Evaluation
Source	News Values
Topic of News Item	Conceptual Metaphors
Focus of Domesticity	
Degree of Centrality	

Units of Analysis

In investigating the first layer of EU news characteristics, that is, the ‘formal’ characteristics, the unit of analysis was considered to be an *entire news item* in which either of the two search terms, the EU or the European Union, were identified. To determine the more detailed framing of the EU, a smaller and thus more accurate unit of analysis was necessary. For this purpose, the employed unit of analysis was a *proposition*.³⁶⁸ Krippendorff described propositions as, “...elementary statements – basic sentences, complete claims, whole assertions, not yet analyzed – that can be strung together with...logical connectors”.³⁶⁹ Thus, in an identified news text, propositions were located when the news item made reference to the EU or the

³⁶⁸ Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis*, 106-110.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 107.

European Union, or indeed other actors seen to be representing the EU. News items frequently had several propositional references to the EU, which were subsequently analysed for the more detailed representations of the EU that they presented. A proposition was assumed in this research to have a particular structure; in this case being an actor (the EU or its representative actors), an action (undertaken by those EU actors) and an object (towards whom the action of the actor was directed).³⁷⁰ An example of a proposition with its various components highlighted, and the meaning derived from those, can be found in Figure 3.2.

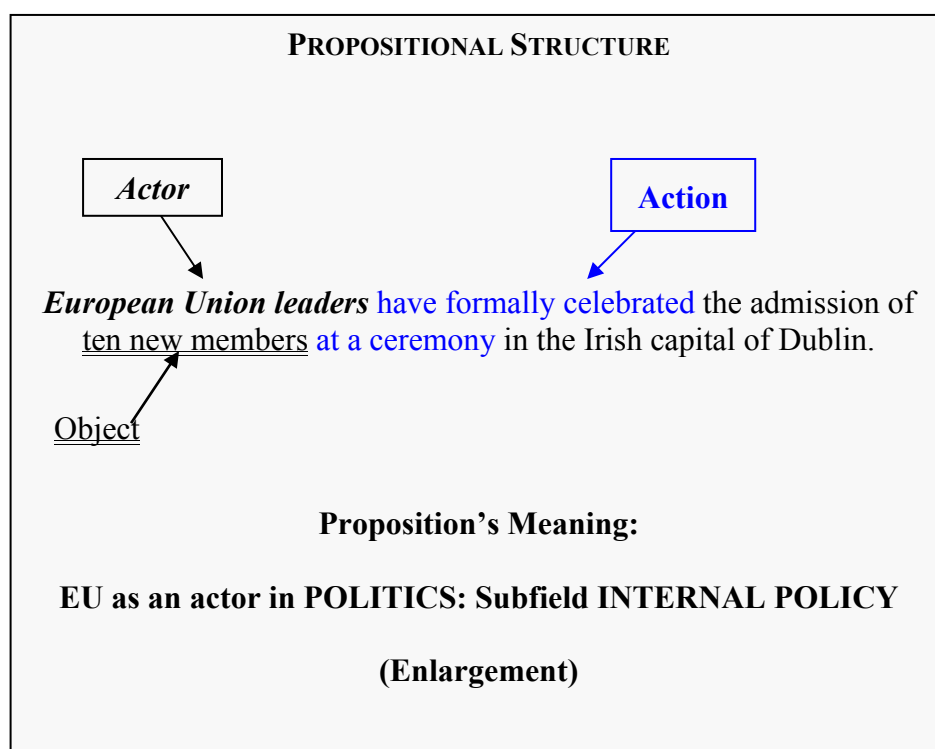


Figure 3.2: Example of Propositional Structure and Meaning

Formal Characteristics

As outlined above, the first aspect of this content analysis of EU news on New Zealand television involved the investigation of a number of 'formal' or 'surface' characteristics of the news to determine its overall visibility and essential features.

³⁷⁰ Ole Holsti, "Content Analysis", in *Research Methods: The Handbook of Social Psychology*, edited by Lindzey Gardner and Elliot Aronson, (London: Random House, 1968), 651-653.

The basic *visibility* of the EU was determined by simply calculating the number of EU news items that were identified, and the *dynamics* of that coverage were assessed through the overall distribution of EU news items across the individual months. It has been noted that the visibility of an actor in the news media is important as it suggests the salience and significance of a subject to a news audience.³⁷¹ In this case, it was assumed that a large volume of news relating to the EU would indicate a heightened need for awareness of this foreign actor for New Zealand news consumers.

However, it has been noted that “learning is not a simple function of exposure”,³⁷² and thus further information was needed to determine the full ‘picture’ of the EU. A number of more detailed features of the news item were determined. The first aspect of these which requires discussion is that of *sources*. All EU news items identified were assessed for the source that produced them, whether this was a local journalist operating out of New Zealand or a local journalist stationed abroad, or whether the item was purchased through the international news wires. In the case of television news generally, the largest news wire services are generally the major British and American news agencies, namely the BBC, CNN, American Broadcasting Company (ABC) and Independent Television Network (ITN). While media dependency theory (discussed above) accounts for the reliance of individuals on the news media for information, there is another layer of dependence at play in the construction of international news, and this is found in the dominance of American and European news agencies globally. The physical distance of many countries from the ‘centre’ of the ‘news world’ means that they become necessarily dependent on international news agencies for the production of much of their foreign news. Thussu discusses the political and economic implications for those countries that are “dependent on information and communication channels which remain largely within the control of a

³⁷¹ Natalia Chaban, Jessica Bain, Katrina Stats, Paveena Sutthisripok, “Mirror Reflections?: The EU in Print and Broadcast Media in the Asia-Pacific”, in *Public, Elite and Media Perceptions of the EU in the Asia-Pacific*, edited by Natalia Chaban and Martin Holland.

³⁷² W. Russell Neuman, Marion Just and Ann Crigler, *Common Knowledge*, 3.

few countries and the corporations based there”.³⁷³ If such dependency exists in the New Zealand television presentation of EU news, what implications and consequences does this have for the EU’s framing?

In addition to the sources of EU news, the study considered the *degree of centrality* of the EU to the news item: when a news item referenced the EU, was it the primary, secondary or minor concern of that item?³⁷⁴ It was felt that including this aspect of analysis in the study would help to determine the totality of the EU representation. Further to this, the actual relevance of the EU to the news item was addressed through analysing the *focus of domesticity* of the item. This was completed using a three-fold analysis: whether news on the EU was focused on ‘pure’ EU news (news occurring within the European Union), on ‘localised’ events (those which occurred within New Zealand but in which the EU played a role), or whether the focus of the news item was external to both the EU and new Zealand, and thus focused on a ‘3rd party’ (within which the EU again played a role).³⁷⁵ Grounding a foreign counterpart in the domestic discourse by ‘localising’ international affairs is an efficient technique used by newsmakers to capture audiences’ attention, since domestic news tends to be regarded as possessing as “master-status”,³⁷⁶ that is, it induces a perception of a higher relevancy for audience members. This strategy of ‘domesticating’ foreign news has been referred to as employing national ‘hook’.³⁷⁷ Finally, the *topic* of the EU news items was determined by analysing the area of EU action within the news item.

³⁷³ Daya Thussu, *International Communication: Continuity and Change*, (London: Arnold Publishers, 2000), 6.

³⁷⁴ Deirdre Kevin, *Europe in the Media*, 54

³⁷⁵ This focus of domesticity approach is similar to the “concept of domesticity of EU stories” used by Jochen Peter, Holli Semetko, and Claes de Vreese, EU Politics on Television News, 310, 313, 318; and the “domestic or European” focus used by Claes de Vreese, *Framing Europe*, 81, 85-86, 92, 103-105.

³⁷⁶ Stephen Hilgartner, Charles Bosk, “The Rise and Fall of Social Problems: A Public Arenas Model”, *The American Journal of Sociology* 94, No. 1 (1988), 60.

³⁷⁷ Deirdre Kevin, *Europe in the Media*, 132.

Content Characteristics

Utilising the smaller propositional unit of analysis, a number of ‘deeper’ features of EU news items were coded. The first of these was the identification of specific EU *actors*. It is often claimed that the EU is a ‘faceless’ entity,³⁷⁸ and that no one really knows who represents the EU, particularly on international matters. To investigate whether in fact this is a fair criticism of the EU, or if it is instead an over-used stereotype, this research accounted for the specific EU actors contained in propositions in order to determine just who is seen to be representing the EU in the television news media of New Zealand. While reference to ‘the European Union’ and/or the ‘EU’ in news texts was the leading criterion to include a news item into the sampling pool, when the EU was introduced as an actor, this reference often also referred synonymously to the actions of many related actors (including: EU institutions and the institutions of its Member States; EU decision-makers and representatives, such as Commissioners or Members of the EP; Member States, both existing or candidate countries; the leaders of those countries; as well as ordinary EU citizens).

As discussed previously, this research is guided by the conceptual notion of frames, and by the idea that “by framing images of reality...in a predictable and patterned way”,³⁷⁹ the news media have a significant impact on the construction of the international ‘reality’. Thus, this study was concerned with the specific ‘framed images’ of the EU’s reality within the New Zealand television news sphere. The actions of those EU actors mentioned above formed the basis of the primary frames analysis in this research. Based on the actions and activities that the EU and its representatives were seen to be undertaking, propositions were categorised according to one of three *primary frames*: the EU as a *political* actor, the EU as an *economic*

³⁷⁸ Jochen Peter and Claes de Vreese, “In Search of Europe”, 17.

³⁷⁹ Denis McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*, (3rd edition), (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 1994), 331.

actor and the EU as an actor in *social* affairs. Within these frames, further sub-frames were noted based on the topic of the article portraying the actions of the EU and its actors.

In addition to monitoring the frames of EU activity, this study wanted to examine the justifications for an EU news story receiving television news coverage. As Chapter 2 discussed, in selecting news items for coverage, newsmakers operate within a highly specified system of norms and conventions. Included in this system are concepts of newsworthiness, notions which act to assist those reporting on the EU to make selection decisions about what is considered to be news. This study thus accounted for the perceptible *values of newsworthiness* of each EU television news item. This was done according to Shoemaker and Reese's classification of news values, of which there were five: conflict/controversy, human interest, cultural proximity, timeliness, prominence/importance.³⁸⁰

Peter, Semetko and de Vreese noted a need for further research into the evaluation of the EU within television news studies,³⁸¹ and responding to this request, this study investigated how the EU was evaluated in its external coverage (specifically, on New Zealand television news). This evaluation was detected in two ways. The first method detected the overall tone of the news item and its *explicit evaluation*, as to whether it was positive, negative or neutral towards the EU. This aspect of the analysis draws on the research of de Vreese and Boomgaarden and their work on valence frames in news on the EU.³⁸²

The second means of identifying evaluations of the EU was determined using the cognitive method of *conceptual metaphors* developed by Lakoff and Johnson.³⁸³

³⁸⁰ Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

³⁸¹ Jochen Peter, Holli Semetko, Claes de Vreese, "EU Politics on Television News", 323.

³⁸² Claes de Vreese and Hajo Boomgaarden, "Valenced News Frames and Public Support for the EU", *Communications* 28, (2003).

³⁸³ George Lakoff, and Mark Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh. The Embodied Mind and its Challenge*

Lakoff and Johnson, two of the pre-eminent scholars in the field of cognitive science, described the essential function of metaphor as the means of “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another”.³⁸⁴ The cognitive model is not the only interpretation of metaphor that has been employed in scholarship. For example, the traditionalist approach defines metaphors linguistically, and argues that the metaphoric categorisation derives from a noted likeness between two compared entities.³⁸⁵ However, it is the cognitive model purported by Lakoff and Johnson which is employed in this study. Studies exploring the concept of metaphor and its use in many discourses including political communication are numerous,³⁸⁶ as it has become widely accepted that people use metaphors to make sense of the ever-changing global reality, by contrasting one domain of experience against another.³⁸⁷ The function of metaphors in configuring the world for us has been noted by Postman, who argued:

[w]hether we are experiencing the world through the lens of speech or the printed word or the television camera, our media-metaphors classify the world for us, sequence it, frame it, enlarge it, reduce it, color it, argue a case for what the world is like [*sic*].³⁸⁸

to *Western Thought*, (New York: Basic Books, 1999); George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2003).

³⁸⁴ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 5.

³⁸⁵ See: Zoltán Kövecses, *Metaphor. A Practical Introduction*. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Marisol Sacristán, “Metaphor and ESP: Metaphor as a Useful Device for Teaching L2 Business English Learners”, *IBÉRICA* 10, No. 116, (2004), <http://www.aelfe.org/documents/07-Ib10-Velasco.pdf>.

³⁸⁶ For example see: Paul Chilton, and Mikhail Ilyin, “Metaphor in Political Discourse: the Case of the “Common European House””, *Discourse & Society* 4, No. 1, (1993); Paul Chilton and George Lakoff, “Foreign Policy by Metaphor”, in *Language and Peace*, edited by Christina Schäffner, and Anita Wenden, (Dartmouth: Aldershot, 1995); Paul Chilton, *Security Metaphors: Cold War Discourse from Containment to Common House*, (New York: Peter Lang, 1996); Paul Chilton, “The Meaning of Security”, in *Post-Realism: the Rhetorical Turn in International Relations*, edited by Francis Beer and Robert Hariman, (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1996); Christina Schäffner, “Building a European House? Or at Two Speeds into a Dead End? Metaphors in the Debate on the United Europe”, in *Conceiving of Europe: diversity in unity*, edited by Andreas Musolff, Christina Schäffner, and Michael Townson, (Dartmouth: Aldershot, 1996); Caroline Strachle *et al.*, “Struggle as Metaphor in European Union Discourses on Unemployment”, *Discourse & Society* 10, No. 1, (1999).

³⁸⁷ David Lee, *Cognitive Linguistics: An Introduction*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2001).

³⁸⁸ Neil Postman, *Amusing Ourselves to Death*, 1.

Fundamental to the cognitive approach is the idea that the processing, patterning and communication of information and ideas are central to cognition.³⁸⁹ Metaphors are considered within this approach to have a structuring function which serves to assist in the comprehension and interpretation of complex and challenging notions by categorising them in familiar and simple ways.³⁹⁰

In terms of the news media, conceptual metaphors within a news text can assist the news audience to “make sense of phenomena in the world in human terms”, and it is argued that in the case of foreign news, where people often do not have significant existing knowledge or strong opinions, that the function of metaphors is heightened.³⁹¹ This importance of metaphoric categorisation in international affairs has been noted in the literature: “there is an extensive, and mostly unconscious, system of metaphor that we use automatically and unreflectively to understand complexities and abstractions. Part of this system is devoted to understanding international relations...”.³⁹² In discerning an evaluation of the EU, the conceptual metaphors identified in the news texts pertaining to the EU are argued to provide powerful interpretations which can “lead to certain implied conclusions”.³⁹³

Indeed, as Chaban et al. noted:

By subtly introducing a negative or positive evaluative dimension which serves to praise and recommend, or to criticize and denounce, metaphors act not as factual, but rather emotive devices. By stressing some properties, de-emphasizing others and concealing yet others, and by assigning perceptible assessments to those highlighted properties, this particular form of

³⁸⁹ James Beninger, “Communication – Embrace the Subject, not the Field”, *Journal of Communication* 43, No. 3, (1993). See also: Iraide Ibarretxe-Antunano, “What is Cognitive Linguistics?”.

³⁹⁰ See: George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*; Friedrich Ungerer and Hans Jörg Schmidt, *An Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics*, (Essex: Longman, 1996), 152; James Underhill, “Meaning, Language, and Mind: an Interview with Mark Turner”, *Style* 36, No. 4, (2002), 700-702.

³⁹¹ Sofia Broström, “The Role of Metaphor in Cognitive Semantics”, *Cognitive Studies* 31 (1994), 38.

³⁹² George Lakoff, *Metaphor in Politics. An Open Letter to the Internet*, (1991), <http://philosophy.uoregon.edu/metaphor/lakoff-l.htm>.

³⁹³ Sofia Broström, “The Role of Metaphor in Cognitive Semantics”, 32.

categorization serves to reinforce establishing stereotypes and support conventional beliefs.³⁹⁴

3.3.3 A Visual Analysis of EU Television News

In addition to the formal and content characteristics of the New Zealand television news images of the EU, this thesis added an additional layer of analysis to that of the APP project – the incorporation of the *visual* images of the EU presented in the identified television news items. This is an important aspect to include because, as Deacon *et al.* have noted, “many of the central forms of mass communication...are saturated with images”³⁹⁵ and, indeed, much of the power and influence of certain visual media – television in particular – arguably stems from their visual images, the “enticing images that dance across the glowing glass frame”.³⁹⁶ Yet despite this significance, Deacon *et al.* have also noted that “[the] work on the visual dimensions of [mass] media remains relatively under-developed”.³⁹⁷ In studies of the representations of the EU on television news it is wholly undeveloped. Such studies as those discussed in Chapter 2 which examined the representations of the EU within the European news media have not addressed at all the visual imagery in the EU’s news presentations. Thus, the incorporation of this aspect of analysis into the research of this thesis is both a particularly novel, and a particularly important component.

³⁹⁴ Natalia Chaban, Jessica Bain, Katrina Stats, Paveena Sutthisripok, Yoon Ah Choi, “The European Union in Metaphors: Images of the EU Enlargement in the Asia-Pacific News”, in *Public, Elite and Media Perceptions of the EU in the Asia-Pacific*, edited by Natalia Chaban and Martin Holland. Stereotype here is understood as a concept held by one social group about another and which is used frequently to justify certain discriminatory behaviours.

³⁹⁵ David Deacon, *et al.*, *Researching Communications: A Practical Guide to Methods in Media and Cultural Analysis*, (London: Arnold, 1998/1999), 185.

³⁹⁶ Paul Lester, *Visual Communication: Images with Messages*, (2nd Edition), (Stamford: Wadsworth, 2000), 275.

³⁹⁷ David Deacon, *et al.*, *Researching Communications*, 185. It is important to note here that art history and similar disciplines have been studying the significance of artistic images for centuries. Deacon *et al.*’s reference here is to the relative lack of studies examining the images of television, film and other mass communications with ‘pictures’.

This is not to say that there have been no studies of visual representations of the EU. Aiello and colleagues in America, for example, have conducted visual analysis of the EU's public communication of an EU-identity, through such schemes as the European Capital of Culture competitions.³⁹⁸ Aiello found that image 'multiplicity' is frequently employed by the EU in promoting itself visually³⁹⁹: that is, the frequent use of multiple images, font types, image styles, faces, and so forth, in an effort to demonstrate the diversity that the EU prides itself on constituting.⁴⁰⁰ Aiello's studies though, examine images which have been chosen, and often explicitly designed, in order to represent the EU in a specific way. The EU thus has a vested interest and active role in their construction and dissemination. In the case of television news images in an external partner country of the EU, however, this active control of imagery by the EU is not possible. And yet, these television news images are a very real way in which audiences situated outside of Europe can 'see' the EU, and thus they warrant further investigation.

Much as the textual discourses of news are not simple reflections of an objective reality, but are instead deliberate constructions, so too it is important to recognise that, as Aiello has noted, "...images are never innocent".⁴⁰¹ While news producers use visual narratives to accompany their reporting as a means of verifying the story that is being relayed,⁴⁰² the images that are seen are not just simple reproductions of events. Indeed, Deacon et al. argued that:

³⁹⁸ Giorgia Aiello, "The Appearance of Diversity: Visual Design and the Public Communication of EU Identity", in *European Union Identity*, edited by Jessica Bain and Martin Holland, NESCA Vol. III, (Baden Baden: Nomos, 2007).

³⁹⁹ Edward Tufte, *The Visual Display of Quantitative Information*, Cheshire: Graphics Press, 2001, p. 118, Cited in Giorgia Aiello, "The Appearance of Diversity", 161.

⁴⁰⁰ Presidency of the European Union, Austria 2006, Website, <http://www.eu2006.at/en/index.html>, Accessed June 27 2007.

⁴⁰¹ Giorgia Aiello, "Theoretical Advances in Critical Visual Analysis: Perception, Ideology, Mythologies and Social Semiotics", (Paper presented in the Visual Studies Division of the *International Communication Association Convention*, June 2006), 2.

⁴⁰² Deacon et al., *Researching Communications*, 220.

...what images of particular events and situations seem to offer is the actual witnessing of reality. They seem to substantiate an objective record of what actually happened...[but in] many cases, what actually happened is in the past, and the reporting is of necessity having to catch up with the event, or rather the event as it has become a news event.⁴⁰³

Van Leeuwen and Jewitt have noted that images and the studies thereof tend to fall into two broad categories: images that "...are produced to serve as records of reality, as documentary evidence of the people, places, things, actions and events they depict",⁴⁰⁴ and thus studies which discern these features; or alternatively, studies which examine how images provide "evidence of how their maker or makers have (re-)constructed reality, as evidence of bias, ideologically coloured interpretation, and so on".⁴⁰⁵ These two distinctions are important to acknowledge in the production of a methodology for image analysis, because, as van Leeuwen and Jewitt stressed, "the choice of an appropriate method of [visual] analysis is dependent on the nature of the project in which it is to be used, on the visual material that is being investigated, and on the goals of the research project".⁴⁰⁶

In light of these considerations, this thesis approached the visual images of the EU presented in New Zealand television news broadcasts as being of the former distinction; that is, as images that were intended to serve as objective depictions of 'reality', as evidence of the day's events around the world, in the manner that news images are usually argued by their creators to operate. The concern of this study was not whether the images of the EU that were presented were an accurate and bias-free portrayal, but rather was simply to gauge which actors were seen to visually represent the EU, how they were depicted, and what actions they were seen to be undertaking, so as to see whether there were particular patterns in EU portrayals.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, 220-221

⁴⁰⁴ Theo van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt, "Introduction", in *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, edited by Theo van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt, (London: Sage, 2002), 4.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

Having established what information this thesis desired to gain from the visual analysis, it was necessary to decide which visual methodologies would best provide this. In making such decisions, attention was given to the degree to which the visual methodology developed here would be broadly replicable at a later date in future studies of the EU's news images, both in New Zealand and elsewhere.

Bell advocates incorporating content analysis of visual images because “[content analysis] is the most basic way of finding out something about the media’s meaning and allows for apparently general statements to be made about aspects of representation”.⁴⁰⁷ Broadly, visual content analysis can be described as, “an empirical (observational) and objective procedure for quantifying recorded ‘audio-visual’ (including verbal) representation using reliable, explicitly defined categories”.⁴⁰⁸ It is the use of a predetermined classification system that is, according to Bell, the strength of visual content analysis, enabling not only replication of a study at a later date, but also allowing comparisons to be made between similar samples.⁴⁰⁹

Thus, in addressing Bell’s requirements for a predetermined classification system, a number of specific categories and visual features of the EU television news images were established. This study was interested in determining which *people* were seen to visually represent the EU, how they were depicted, and what actions they were seen to be undertaking, so as to see whether there were particular patterns in the EU portrayals. Additionally, this research was interested in the *places* of the actors – was the setting of the image part of the EU, and what features of that setting indicated this location? Finally, analysis included other visual images of the EU, other than people and places, such as *symbols* and objects of the EU and its Member States like flags,

⁴⁰⁷ Philip Bell, “Content Analysis of Visual Images”, in *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, edited by Theo van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt, 13.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

maps, and other objects, as well as on-screen text. The complete visual framework can be found in Appendix II.

While content analysis is a particularly useful system for quantification and comparison of visual analysis, it has been considered however to be best used “...to provide a background ‘map’ of a domain of visual representation. Having conducted a content analysis, the researcher can then interpret the images or the imagery in qualitative ways”.⁴¹⁰ Thus, in order to more fully discuss the salience and significance of the identified EU images, it was necessary to incorporate additional qualitative methodological tools into the framework of analysis.

Visual semiotics offers some useful tools here. Semiotics has been described as an approach which endeavours to answer:

...the question of representation (what do images represent and how?) and the question of the ‘hidden meanings’ of images (what ideas and values do the people, places and things represented in images stand for?)...what ideas and values do we associate with these depicted people, places and things, and what is it that allows us to do so?⁴¹¹

Semiotics is a commonly used approach for analysing visual images. However, it has been noted that it does not “...usually identify specific patterns...or use specific methods to put the meanings together”,⁴¹² and thus van Leeuwen has argued that it is possible benefits may be gained from combining social semiotics with other approaches,⁴¹³ such as, in this case content analysis, which does allow for patterns across a number of images to be discerned.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁴¹¹ Theo van Leeuwen, “Semiotics and Iconography”, in *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, edited by Theo van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt, 92.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, 92

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*

Thus, a methodological combination of visual content analysis and semiotics was employed in this analysis of the EU's visual news images. Firstly all news items identified were visually 'transcribed'; that is, a transcript was made of each news item which described in detail the visual content of each visual 'frame' in the news item. Subsequently, the details of these transcripts were subjected to classification, according to the framework shown in Appendix II. Finally, after establishing any patterns or repeatedly employed images of the EU, an investigation of the *meanings* of those images was made, in order to understand what type of actor the EU was visually portrayed to be. This analysis of EU visual depictions was subsequently compared to the imagery activated by the conceptual metaphors identified in the television news portrayals of the EU, and will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, exploring two case studies of the EU's television news portrayals in 2004.

3.3.4 A Comparative Perspective

It has been noted that incorporating comparisons in communication research is significant because "thinking without comparisons is unthinkable".⁴¹⁴ Additionally, Semetko, de Vreese and Peter have noted that, "a cross-national perspective offers an escape from the ethnocentrism common to most research in the field of political communication".⁴¹⁵ As such, this thesis also included a comparative perspective in its analysis. This was done to more fully explore the trends revealed in the New Zealand case, and to heighten the validity of that single country case study. The data from Australia, South Korea and Thailand that was gathered in the APP project was compared to the New Zealand findings. To ensure the reliability of the findings, and

⁴¹⁴ Guy Swanson, "Frameworks for Comparative Research: Structural Anthropology and the Theory of Action", in *Comparative Methods in Sociology: Essays on Trends and Applications*, edited by Ivan Vallier, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1971), 145. Cited in Tsan-Kuo Chang *et al.*, "Comparing Nations in Mass Communication Research, 1970-97: A Critical Assessment of How We Know What We Know" *International Communication Gazette* 63, No. 5, (2001), 417.

⁴¹⁵ Holli A. Semetko, Claes H. de Vreese and Jochen Peter, "Europeanised Politics – Europeanised Media?", 121.

in accordance with the requirements of trans-national research, identical sampling techniques and methodological procedures were employed in all four countries.⁴¹⁶

3.3.5 A Newsroom Perspective

Since the focus of this research is on the media constructed images of the EU, it was considered important to account for the ‘constructing processes’ as well as the outcome. As de Vresse has noted, “[t]he processes underlying news stories are essential for understanding patterns and conventions found in the content”.⁴¹⁷ In addition to discerning these ‘processes underlying news stories’, this study also regarded it as important to account for the perceptions of New Zealand newsmakers towards the EU, since it is these media elites who are “in positions to make decisions having major consequences”⁴¹⁸ on the manner in which the EU is portrayed and framed in the discourses of New Zealand television news.

The data for the discussion of newsmaker perceptions on reporting the EU to New Zealand audiences was gathered in a series of in-depth elite interviews with the leading news editors of major media outlets in New Zealand. Because only two broadcast channels were monitored in the course of this particular project, interviews were taken with their two Heads of News and Current Affairs as well as editors at the major New Zealand daily newspapers. The results of these interviews, and how they may help to account for the particular news framings of the EU that were identified in this research, are discussed in Chapter 8. The list of questions posed during the interviews with New Zealand newsmakers can be found in Appendix IV.

⁴¹⁶ Tsan-Kuo Chang *et al.*, “Comparing Nations in Mass Communication Research.

⁴¹⁷ Claes de Vreese, *Framing Europe*, 15.

⁴¹⁸ Charles Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/Book_Excerpts/HigherCircles_PE.html.

CHAPTER FOUR

REFLECTIONS OF THE EU IN THE ‘MIRROR’ OF NEW ZEALAND TELEVISION NEWS

“Europe has historically been difficult to market or explain to the world because it is a ‘moving target’ ...its nature and structure seem always to be changing to observers abroad”

Philip Fiske de Gouveia, 2005⁴¹⁹

4.1. SCREENING THE EU IN 2004

As discussed previously, 2004 marked a year of momentous change for the EU. Enlargement, the constitutional convention, EP elections, a new Commission – all added to the challenge of understanding and reporting on the moving EU ‘target’ that Philip Fiske de Gouveia discusses above. However, while the events of 2004 posed challenges for international media coverage, they were also considered to be events that would likely make the EU a clearly visible actor on the world stage. Monitoring such an assumption, this analysis accounted for every reference made to the EU and European Union, on the two New Zealand television news bulletins throughout 2004. This chapter presents the results of this monitoring and the subsequent content analysis of the gathered EU news texts from the two television news broadcasts, One News and 3 News. In particular, this chapter addresses the formal characteristics of the EU’s image in the New Zealand television news bulletins, as well as several of the more detailed content features, including the primary framing of the EU, its

⁴¹⁹ Philip Fiske De Gouveia, *European Infopolitik*, 4.

evaluation and the values of EU newsworthiness. In conducting such an analysis, this chapter aims to reveal the overall features of the EU image that are constructed and portrayed in New Zealand television news discourses.

4.2. RESULTS

4.2.1. Volume of Coverage

As has been discussed, this study was interested in accounting for the totality of EU images in the New Zealand television news space throughout 2004, and as such, it was anticipated that a large volume of EU news items would be identified, particularly because of the high number of important EU events that year. Such key events in the European calendar were anticipated to heighten global interest in the EU, and to thus stimulate newsmakers attention towards this “kaleidoscopic and multifaceted”⁴²⁰ international actor.

Despite these expectations, a total of only 29 EU related news items were identified and catalogued across both of the monitored news bulletins in New Zealand throughout the whole of 2004. To contextualise this level of coverage, we can compare it to the findings of the APP project’s monitoring of New Zealand newspapers during the same year. The APP project found that in the five daily New Zealand newspapers, a total of 650 news items were identified for the same 12 month monitoring period.⁴²¹ Such a total provides an appropriate indication of how abysmally low the New Zealand television news coverage really was.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴²¹ Natalia Chaban and Martin Holland, “The EU Through the Eyes of the Asia-Pacific”, 65.

4.2.2. Dynamics of Coverage

Breaking this total volume of coverage down allows insight into the deeper framings of the EU in New Zealand television news discourse, and provides comprehension of the reasons for the low total. Figure 4.1 shows the monthly dynamics of the EU television news coverage for the 12 months of monitoring, and as is evident from this graph, in addition to low overall levels, the coverage also proved inconsistent. The chart shows a sporadic and spiking trend towards EU news coverage, with some months of 2004 revealing no EU coverage at all, and others displaying relatively prominent peaks of EU coverage. However, it is perhaps encouraging to see the beginnings of a general upward trend in the latter part of the year, prompted primarily by a particular focus on the ongoing EU ‘Turkey question’.

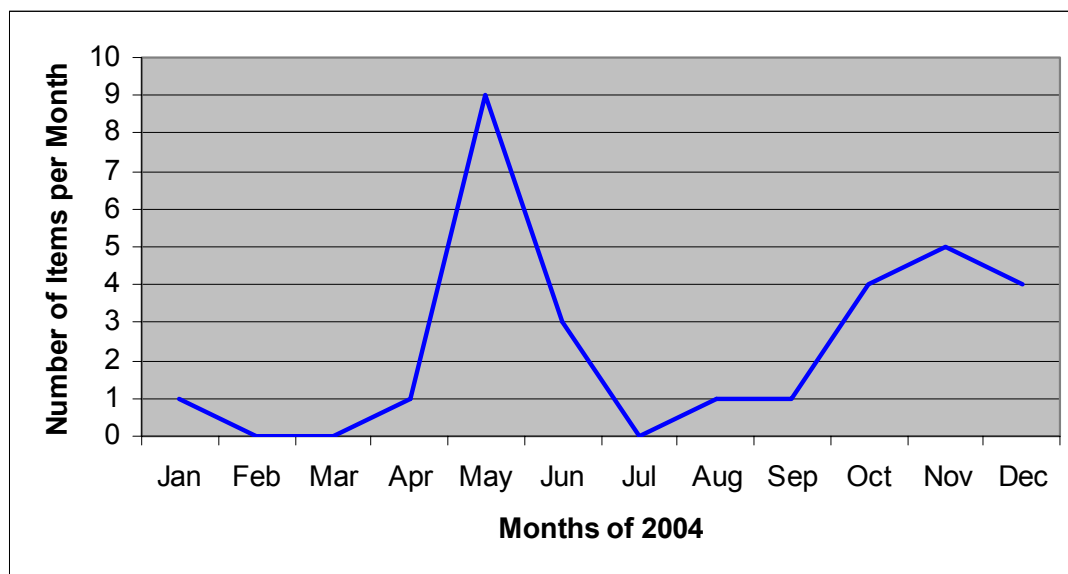


Figure 4.1: Dynamics of New Zealand EU Television News Coverage

The early part of 2004 demonstrated a marginal level of television news interest in the EU, with February and March experiencing no EU related news at all. Only one EU event made the news in January; the discovery of letter bombs in the offices of several European Parliamentarians. Despite being the month immediately preceding the 5th

EU enlargement, April was also a month of limited EU coverage, with only one news item which featured on the very cusp of the enlargement itself.⁴²² As is apparent in Figure 4.1, the EU was significantly more visible in the New Zealand television news bulletins during May of 2004, relative to the other months of coverage. This peak is primarily attributable to the enlargement that saw eight Central and Eastern European countries, and two Mediterranean countries become EU Member States, however a number of other events during the month also contributed to a lesser extent to this higher level of EU interest. In May, Helen Clark, New Zealand's Prime Minister, embarked on an official tour of a number of European countries and held a series of high-level political talks with leaders of EU Member States as well as with key European Community officials. Additionally, in the same month, the 60th anniversary commemorations of the Battle for Monte Cassino and the Normandy landings in World War Two were held around Europe. While these largely cultural and historical events did not relate specifically to European integration, the EU was referenced several times, primarily in connection to the participation in the events of various existing and acceding Member States. Finally, also in May, New Zealand television news highlighted the EU in relation to two prominent international events: the Israeli invasion of the Palestinian Rafah area in the Gaza strip; and the sentencing of six health workers in Libya to death. Both events were widely condemned by the European Union and other international actors like the United Nations (UN) and the United States (US).

After the relative prominence of the EU in May, June 2004 saw a decline in the New Zealand television coverage, and only three EU-related items were noted during the month. The first of these was connected to Helen Clark's continued European tour, while the release of several Turkish political prisoners and the election of a new

⁴²² As discussed in Chapter 3, for the first four months of 2004 the Newztel database was used to collect EU news items, until it was discovered in April that the database was incomplete. Hence, it is possible that there were more EU news items appearing in January-April than were actually located in the database. However, this is speculative, and given the low coverage levels during the remainder of the year, the January-April information is consistent.

President in Serbia were also briefly covered. Both of the latter events were discussed in connection with the two countries' prospects for EU membership, which were considered to be heightened as a result of the events. July was the only month in the latter half of the year to generate no EU news coverage at all, while both August and September were each found to have only one relevant news item. July and August are traditionally summer vacation months in Europe, and as such, prominent political and economic events are less frequent, which may account for the virtual absence of EU news at this time.

A variety of topics and events triggered the coverage in October, including the arrests of several Basque terrorists which were made through cross-border police cooperation and Europol, as well as coverage of the ongoing negotiations for an EU constitution. The controversy surrounding Italy's nominee for appointment to the new European Commission also featured. In November the second highest peak of EU related news coverage was identified. However, unlike May where enlargement was the primary trigger for an increase in coverage, in November there was not one key event which helped to account for the heightened interest. Instead the November coverage featured a range of prominent international events with an EU connection that occurred during the month, including the battle for Fallujah in Iraq, the EU-led negotiations with Iran over its uranium enrichment programme, and the controversial Ukraine presidential elections with the dramatic 'Orange Revolution' that followed. Finally, in December, the continued debate surrounding Turkey's bid for EU membership produced slightly higher EU-visibility to bring an end to the monitored year.

Across the year then, a variety of events triggered the sporadic levels of EU coverage. Figure 4.2 breaks the monthly dynamic figures down into the two monitored news networks, to distinguish whether the EU coverage was evenly distributed between news outlets.

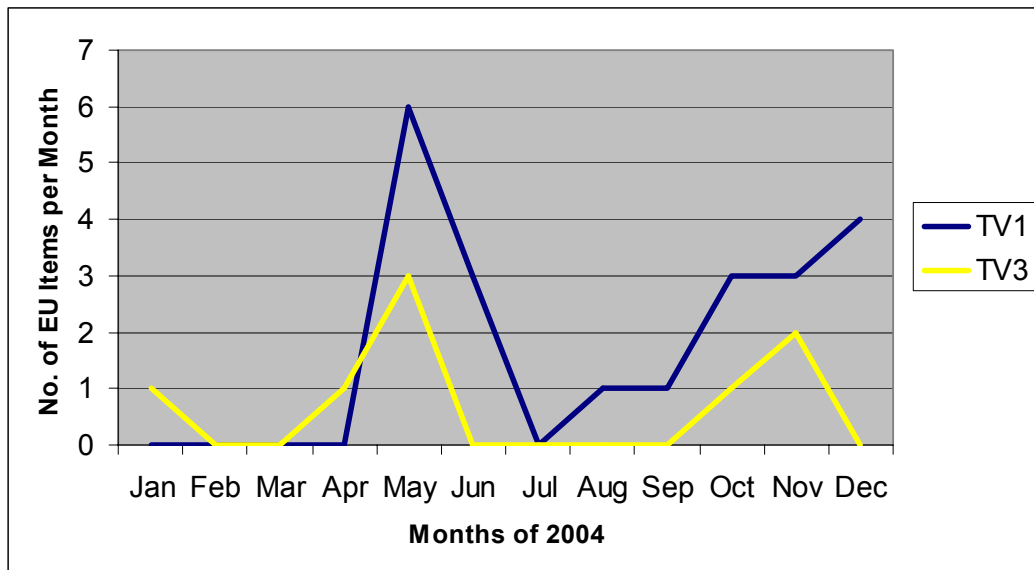


Figure 4.2: Dynamics of New Zealand EU Television News Coverage by Network

As can be seen in the above graph, while TV3 featured the only two identified EU news items in the first four months of 2004, the coverage on the privately-owned network appeared to diminish from May onwards, particularly in comparison to the coverage of its rival network. In the months when both networks did feature EU news, TV1's coverage routinely trumped TV3 in terms of volume. In fact, over 70 percent of all EU news on New Zealand television bulletins through 2004 screened on One News, while only 28 percent of it appeared on TV3's primetime bulletin.

4.2.3. Sources of News

The necessity for television news programmes to make a profit for their networks is a fundamental imperative that is argued to affect the style and type of coverage. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 2, Atkinson and others have found that in New Zealand, the process of deregulating the broadcast media has led to an increase in cost-cutting measures and a consequent decrease in 'quality' news programming. Hamilton has

noted that in the cost-driven news market, technology has played an important role in the cost-effectiveness of news production.⁴²³ The author claims that the costs of reproducing an existing news story for television are negligible, further arguing that, “news organisations will often simply buy information on the market, rather than make their own version...[thus] local outlets can carry national and international stories without developing their own expertise”.⁴²⁴ It is argued that this dependence on foreign wire services for international news coverage may impact on the manner in which an actor like the EU is covered. The perspective of the news items’ creator will inevitably ‘flavour’ the coverage, and if one news source is consistently used by a local media outlet, then this may create a persistent framing of an actor like the EU which has little bearing on the domestic relationship with that actor.

Thus, this study was interested in determining the sources of EU news coverage; whether news on the EU was being created by New Zealand reporters, or whether the news items were being purchased from the international news wires, and if the latter was the case, then which wire sources were being used most frequently. To determine this, note was made during the viewing of each news item, whether there was an acknowledged source. This could be determined in a variety of ways. If a New Zealand news reporter appeared on-screen, then the item was considered locally produced. Alternatively, if there was textual acknowledgement made to an international news agency (e.g. “BBC Correspondent”) then the item was considered to have been purchased from the international wires. One of the key difficulties encountered in this analysis was that news items often screened with no reference to the author of the item at all. Many EU news items were presented solely by the news network’s anchor with visual footage accompanying the anchor’s voice-over. Occasionally a New Zealand reporter would provide the voice-over, however in such situations they did not appear on camera and nor did their by-line appear on-screen,

⁴²³ James Hamilton, *All the News that’s Fit to Sell: How the Market Transforms Information into News*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

indicating that they did not produce the item. A large proportion of the New Zealand EU television news coverage, therefore, was not able to be conclusively attributed to an author (Figure 4.3).

However, when a screened report was created by a local journalist, the item was attributed to that author through an on-screen by-line. As it is in the interests of the news networks to promote their news bulletins as the product of independent resources and individual research, it seems fairly safe to assume that any unattributed reports were purchased from the wires. Based on this assumption, the picture is a much more striking one that speaks to the importance of the foreign news wires in the New Zealand television news sphere (Figure 4.4).

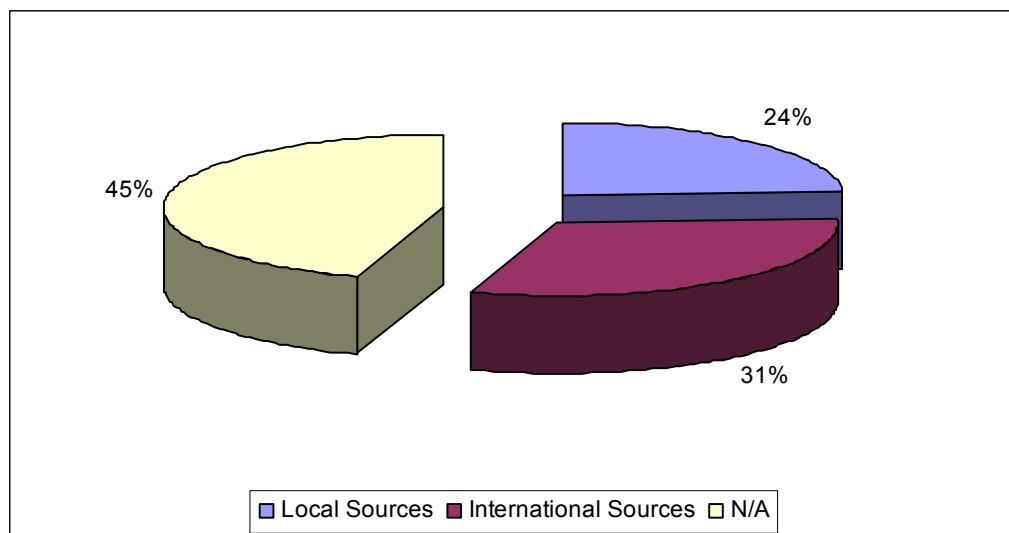


Figure 4.3: Sources of New Zealand Television News on the EU

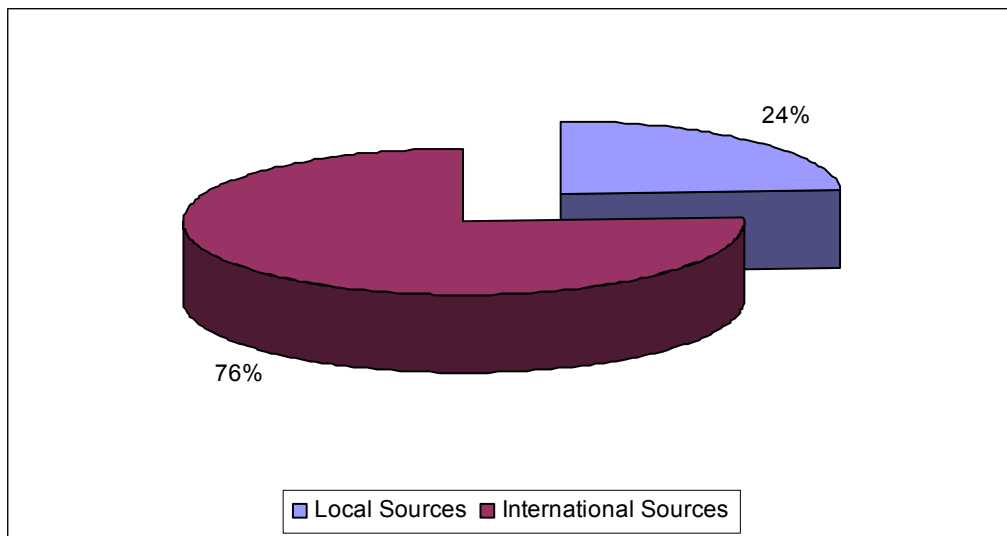


Figure 4.4: Sources of New Zealand Television News on the EU (Accounting for Unattributed Items)

Thus there is clear evidence of a preference for international sourcing of EU news items in the New Zealand television news media. However, determining this alone tells only half the story. In addition to knowing how regularly New Zealand television news bulletins relied on the foreign news services, this research also wanted to account for the specific services that were being utilised, to determine whether one particular source was preferred by New Zealand television news networks when reporting on the EU. Figure 4.5 shows the break-down of the internationally-sourced news items according to their origin. As is evident in the below graph, the significance of the unattributed items once again affects this analysis, as almost 60 percent of the foreign-sourced news items were unable to be connected to one specific news agency. However, from those which were attributed, it is clear that the BBC plays a key role. Notably, all of the news items from the BBC were screened on TV1 – a publicly-owned network founded on a BBC-inspired model,⁴²⁵ which has long-standing links with that British agency. It is also perhaps interesting to note that of the

⁴²⁵ Margie Comrie and Susan Fountaine, “Retrieving Public Service Broadcasting: Treading a Fine Line at TVNZ”, *Media, Culture & Society* 27, No. 1 (2005).

19 EU news items that were categorised as originating from a foreign news wire, only three of these screened on TV3.

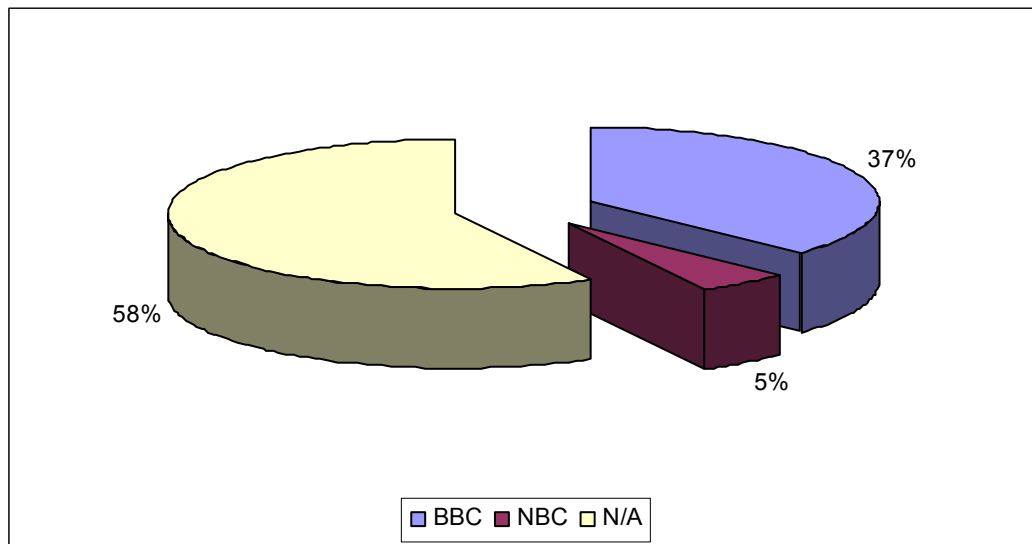


Figure 4.5: Internationally-Sourced EU Television News Items by Agency

4.2.4. Actors

One of the more common criticisms made of the EU is that it is a confusion of faces, and indeed this confusion has been connected to the communication deficit discussed in Chapter 2. Owing to the variety of institutions in the integration process, and the range of competences that may be held at either the EU or the nation-state level, there is a very large number of people who may act on behalf of the Union in many different situations, and it can thus be difficult at times to know exactly who represents the EU. While the comment has become trite with over-use, Henry Kissinger's remark that he did not know who he was to call if trying to get an opinion from Europe is a fair one and indeed, with the ever-expanding nature of the EU, arguably this confusion has only grown. Addressing this criticism, this study accounted for the specific EU actors that were seen to be acting on the EU's behalf when it appeared on New Zealand television news. While reference to 'the European Union' and/or 'the EU' in news texts was the criteria for including a news item in the

sampling pool for this study, when the EU was introduced as an actor, this also often referred synonymously to the actions of many related actors (for example: EU institutions, EU decision-makers, Member States – both existing and acceding, as well as candidate countries, and the leaders of those countries). Figure 4.6 charts the results of the actor analysis, categorising the identified actors according to whether they were a European Community, Member State or accession state actor. In addition to these three categories, the EU itself as a unified actor was catalogued, and the final ‘other’ cluster was added to account for the many EU and Member State’s citizens and people who were depicted in the news items.

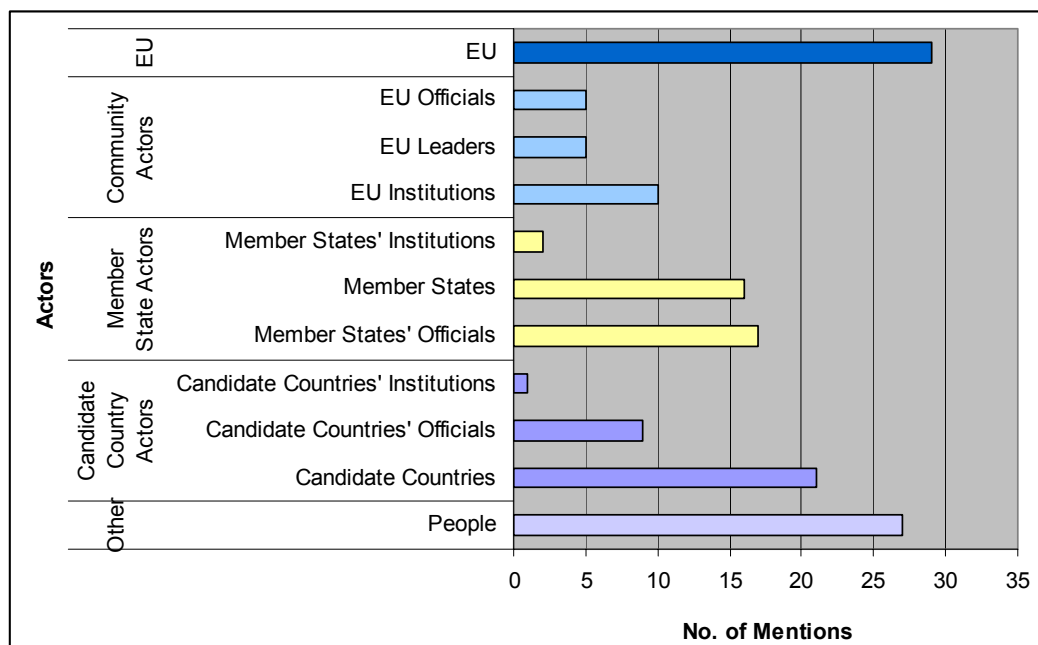


Figure 4.6: EU Actors on New Zealand Television News

As is evident in the above chart, a wide variety of EU actors were identified in the 2004 coverage. Given the search terms for collecting the data set, it was anticipated that the EU as a unified actor would be the most prominent actor overall, and this assumption was realised. The generic group of ‘people’ was the second most visible actor type. This category included everyday citizens of the EU, seen to be

participating in EU events, or being affected by EU decision-making, as well as actors such as the police of various EU Member States, prisoners, translators working in the EU institutions, and farmers. While the 'people' category was comparatively large, due to the large variety of actors in this group, no one particular person was highlighted.

After the 'people' of the EU, the EU's candidate countries were the next most prominent actor category. Within this category, Poland was the most visible country of those acceding to the Union in 2004, followed by references to Hungary and the two Mediterranean countries, Malta and Cyprus. Lithuania was the only one of the new Member States to remain entirely invisible, however, by depicting them so infrequently, arguably the other acceding Member States were also rendered virtually invisible to any New Zealander who relies solely on television news for their information about the EU. In addition to the countries joining in 2004, the 'candidate country' category also included those countries with continued candidate status. Turkey was not only the most prominent of these, but also was the most prominent candidate country overall.

It was anticipated that the existing EU-15 Member States would also be found to be especially visible in the coverage, but in fact, rather than the specific countries themselves, it was the individual officials of many of the EU-15 who were more prominent. Specifically, Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi was the most visible Member State actor, followed by the controversial Italian Commission candidate Rocco Buttiglione⁴²⁶ and British Prime Minister Tony Blair. Correspondingly, Italy was the most visible EU-15 Member State in the New Zealand television news coverage, followed by France. Other EU-15 Member States that were referenced just

⁴²⁶ Mr. Buttiglione was the Italian nominee for the new Commission to be appointed in 2004. However, his controversial comments regarding homosexuals and the role of women saw him eventually withdraw from candidacy, but not before he sparked Europe-wide debate. See: Stephanie Holmes, "Profile: Rocco Buttiglione", *BBC News*, 21 October 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3718210.stm>.

once during the monitoring period were: Belgium, Britain, Denmark, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, and Spain.

One particular aspect of this actors' analysis which is broadly apparent from Figure 4.6 is the dominance of Member State and candidate country actors over those of the EU. The EU itself, as a unified actor, did appear relatively prominently, but only as a result of the search terminology. Three countries - Italy, Turkey and Poland – all received more mentions in the EU news items than did the European Parliament, the Commission or the Presidency, and although current Commission President José Manuel Barroso and Enlargement Commissioner Guenther Verheugen did each appear once in the identified coverage, no other individual EU officials were ever mentioned throughout the course of 2004. Thus, while there was a relatively wide variety of EU actors identified in this analysis, those representing the EU in particular were virtually invisible. The absence of two actors was especially striking, given the extent of the EU's global role: the EU's High Representative for CFSP, Javier Solana, and the then Commissioner for External Relations Chris Patten, were both conspicuously absent from the coverage.

4.2.5. Degree of Centrality

To gain a more precise view of the EU's visibility in the New Zealand television news space in 2004, this research investigated two additional layers of the coverage. The first of these was the degree of centrality of the EU to the news item; was the EU the *major* focus of a story, a *secondary* interest in the item, or merely a *minor*, fleeting reference? This aspect of the analysis was considered useful in determining the overall importance afforded the EU within its coverage on New Zealand television news. Figure 4.7 shows the results of this analysis.

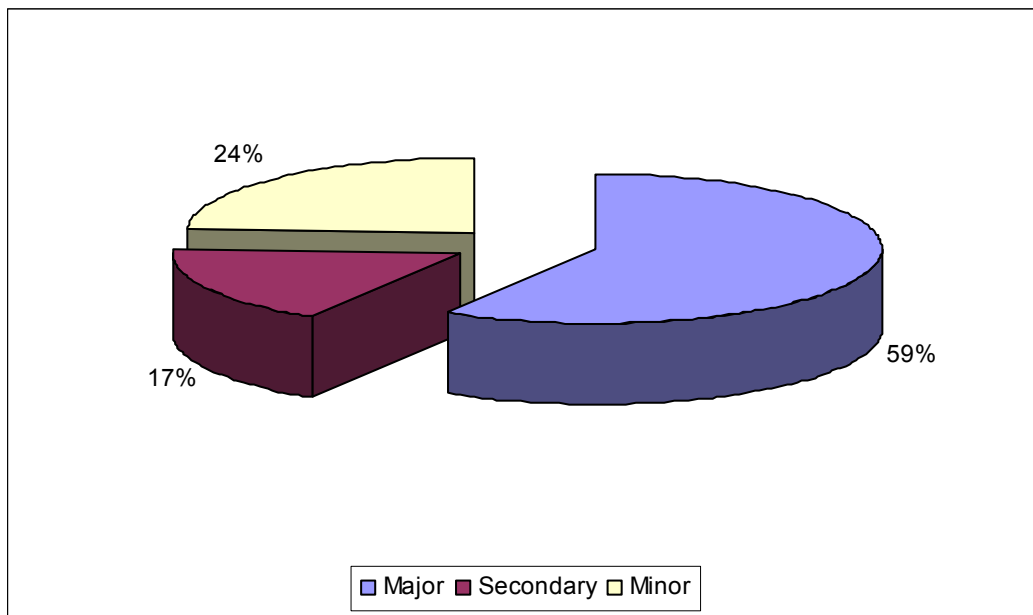


Figure 4.7: Degree of Centrality of the EU on New Zealand Television News

As the above chart highlights, while it received limited visibility in terms of overall volume, when it did screen on either of the two New Zealand news bulletins, the EU was generally the primary focus of a news item. News items which depicted the EU as the major focus included such stories as the EU enlargement celebrations, for example, where the events took place within the Union itself, and where the key actors were seen to be representing the EU.

Secondary EU-focused news item on the other hand included those where the EU was engaged but was not the primary source of the action, for example in a news item discussing the results of the Serbian democratic elections. Although the primary focus within this item was events within Serbia, the EU was mentioned as the results of the events themselves were considered to heighten Serbia's chances of EU membership. By contrast, an item in which the EU was considered to be only a minor reference included a much more peripheral EU mention, for example in a news item regarding the controversy of the UN's Food for Oil scheme, in which the primary focus was on

the UN and Kofi Annan, with a secondary involvement of the US and Iraq, and where the EU was mentioned only fleetingly as Annan was shown visiting with European leaders. While the major EU references were the most prominent, the secondary and minor references are important also because as can be seen in these examples, they demonstrate the EU's interaction with other international counterparts. When the degree of centrality findings are broken down into the two networks' coverage, a similar pattern emerges (Figure 4.8).

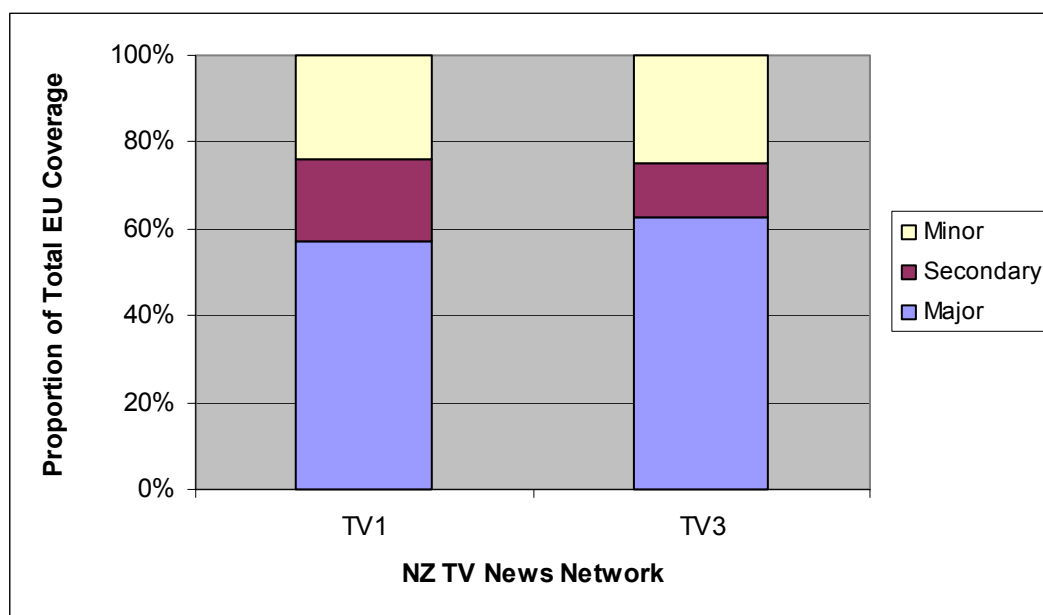


Figure 4.8: Degree of Centrality of the EU on New Zealand Television News by Network

Figure 4.8 shows that the two networks presented the EU in a broadly similar manner in terms of the centrality of the EU to the news item. A little more than half of all EU news items appearing on either One News or 3 News had the EU as their major focus. The EU as a minor or fleeting reference was the next most common way of EU appearing in New Zealand television news bulletins, although in the case of One News, this was only marginally more likely than the EU appearing as a secondary focus. The overall weight of the minor and secondary focus within the news items,

particularly on One News as that bulletin screened the much larger proportion of EU news overall, is noteworthy, perhaps indicating a preference amongst New Zealand newsmakers for viewing the EU as an international actor, but not one which is necessarily as important as other actors.

4.2.6 Focus of Domesticity

In addition to examining the extent to which the EU was profiled in a news item, this research was also interested in the degree to which the EU was framed as a relevant partner for New Zealand. Thus, to reveal the levels of domestic relevance of the EU in New Zealand television news this study accounted for the primary focus of a news item; whether it was concerned only with events happening in the EU (*EU focus*), with events outside the EU and outside of New Zealand (*3rd Country focus*), or whether the EU was seen to be acting within the New Zealand domestic context (*New Zealand focus*). The New Zealand news sphere is one that has traditionally been characterised by particularly parochial reportage,⁴²⁷ and as such, it was anticipated that the coverage of the EU would primarily portrayed through some level of local relevance, particularly in light of the significant local importance of the EU-New Zealand relationship, discussed in Chapter 1.

⁴²⁷ Neal Wallace, Editor of the Otago Daily Times, (Panel discussion, *EU and Dialogue Between Peoples and Cultures: Seeing the EU through the Eyes of Others*, Te Papa, Wellington, New Zealand, 25 November, 2005).

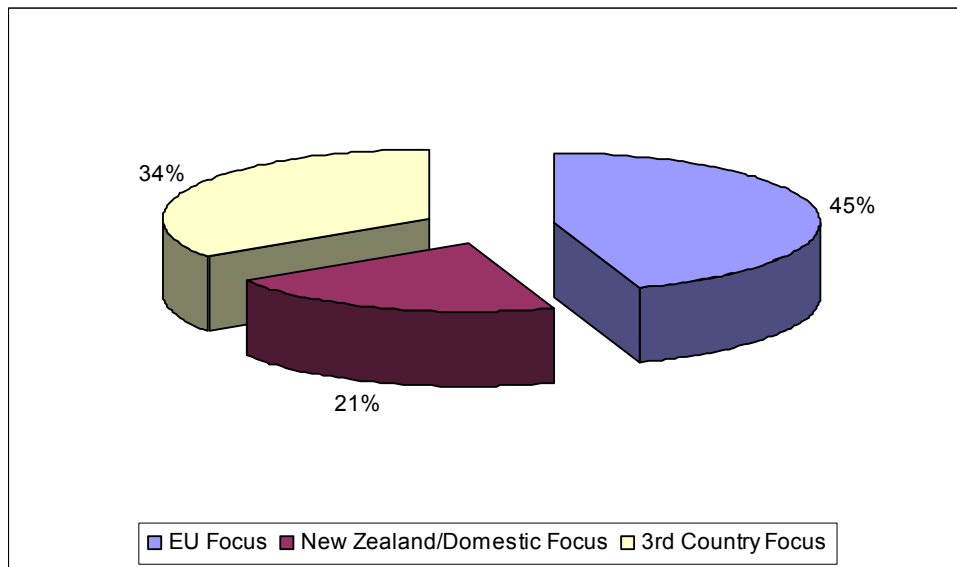


Figure 4.9: Focus of Domesticity of the EU on New Zealand Television News

Figure 4.9, however, shows that across both networks this was not the case, and in fact, news pertaining primarily to events happening within or directly related to the EU dominated. Once again the enlargement coverage provides a good example of the EU-focused news items. Most enlargement news items were concerned with the events within the EU as they affected EU citizens and the Member States themselves, thus warranting their categorisation as an ‘EU-focused’ news item. The third country focused items were those which covered such events as Iran’s agreement to suspend its uranium enrichment program at the behest of the EU, while domestically focused EU news items involved events happening within New Zealand, like the use of methyl bromide on New Zealand forestry exports to Australia. The EU was mentioned within the latter news item because the chemical has been banned in EU Member States for years and some believe that a similar ban should be in place in New Zealand.

When the focus of domesticity analysis is dissected further into the two networks though, it can be seen that this dominance of EU-focused news items is much more apparent on 3 News than on One News (Figure 4.10). In the latter case there was

greater balance between news items with an EU focus and those with a 3rd country focus. On both networks, EU news with a direct New Zealand relevance was marginalised – a finding which fails to reflect the EU’s position as New Zealand’s second most important trading partner.

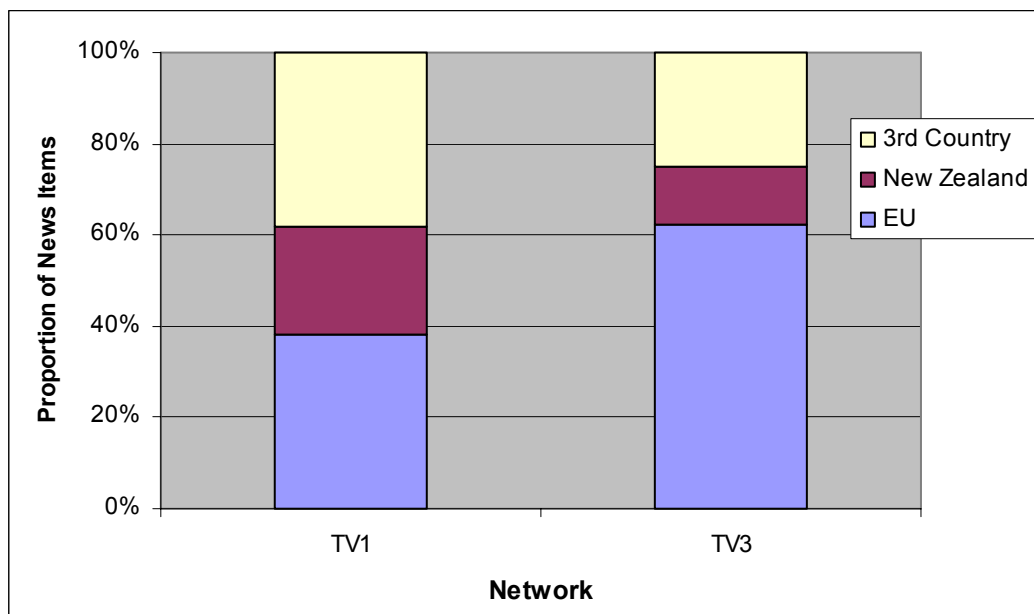


Figure 4.10: Focus of Domesticity of the EU on New Zealand Television News by Network

4.2.7 EU News Frames

Despite the relatively low levels of EU-related news that screened on New Zealand television news through out 2004, a fairly large and varied group of news topics was discerned from these. All EU topics that were mentioned in the New Zealand television news bulletins during the monitoring period are shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Primary Topics of EU Television News Items in New Zealand

Primary Topic	No. of Articles
Enlargement (Political aspects)	11
International Relations (Iran, Iraq, Israel, Libya, Ukraine)	8
Human Rights	3
Environment	2
Chemical Usage	2
Terrorism	2
International Conflict Resolution	2
International Elections	2
EU Summit	2
Enlargement (Economic aspects)	1
WTO	1
CAP Reform	1
WWII Commemorations	1
Health	1
Science/Research (Space)	1
New Zealand-EU Relations	1
Commission	1
EU Constitution	1
TOTAL	43

Television news is a highly restricted news medium in terms of the time available for covering events. As Postman and Powers have noted, "...newspapers and magazines sell space...and space can be expanded. [But] television sells time, and time cannot be expanded".⁴²⁸ As a consequence of these limitations, television news reports often layer news themes and topics, in order to maximise the use of their available time. As is evident in Table 4.1, this approach does appear to have been utilised in reporting the EU for New Zealand news audiences. Table 4.1 shows not only a relative diversity of EU news topics for the monitored year, but also a greater number of topics than there were total EU news items, thus indicating a layering of EU news themes.

In addition to being responsible for the highest monthly peak in the television news coverage of the EU, enlargement was also most common topic reported in association with the EU overall. Secondly, though seldom with any one period of particular

⁴²⁸ Neil Postman and Steve Powers, *How to Watch TV News*, (New York: Penguin, 1992), 24.

intensity, the EU's international relations dominated. This topic broadly referred to the EU's interactions and involvement with its many global partners, although Turkey, Iraq and Israel were the most frequently referenced. In this respect then, the New Zealand television news coverage appeared to hint at the EU's growing global involvement in international affairs.

As was discussed in Chapter 1, a common perception of the EU in both scholarly and political discourse is that it is little more than an economic actor. Terms like economic giant, economic muscle and economic superpower are frequently contrasted with descriptions of the EU as a political pygmy and political dwarf. Indeed, as Figure 1.1 in Chapter 1 demonstrated, this is certainly how New Zealanders regard the EU. This study wanted to discover whether this was how the EU was depicted within the New Zealand television news discourse also. Thus, the identified topics and themes of EU action were further classified into the primary frames of EU activity, these being references to the EU's *political*, *economic* and *social* affairs. Figure 4.11 displays the proportion of the total coverage which comprised each of these three frames.

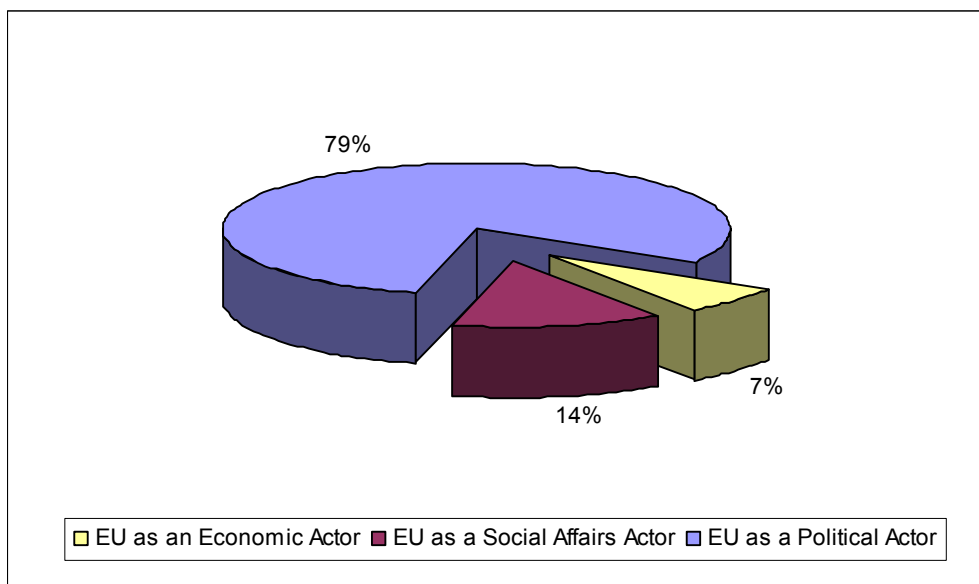


Figure 4.11: Proportion of Primary Frames of the EU on New Zealand Television News

As Figure 4.11 shows, counter-intuitively, and in contrast to its stereotypical description, within the New Zealand television news space the EU was presented from an overwhelmingly political perspective, for example news items like those where the EU Member States had agreed on the Draft Constitutional Treaty, or those regarding its condemnation of Israel's invasion of Rafah. Conversely, economically-driven EU news accounted for only 7 percent of the total 2004 New Zealand EU television news coverage – a far cry from a dominant portrayal of the EU as a solely economic force. Those EU economic news items that did appear, for example, sometimes looked at the EU's involvement in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) negotiations, while social affairs items often discussed bans on various enviro-chemicals within the Union. The latter frame, social affairs, was the second most common way that New Zealand television newsmakers framed the EU's actions in 2004.

Breaking the dominant political affairs frame down revealed two further sub-frames: EU *internal* political affairs and *external* political affairs. The former refers to matters particular to the EU's on-going integration processes, like the Constitutional Treaty negotiations discussed above, while the latter concerns primarily the EU's foreign relations. Figure 4.12 shows the proportion of politically framed news within each of these sub-frames. Supporting the leading topic finding of Table 4.1 where the EU's international affairs featured, what Figure 4.12 makes apparent is that, in addition to being primarily framed from a political perspective, the emphasis within this frame was frequently on EU external political relations, painting a prominent image of the EU as an international actor “out there” in the world, and perhaps further enhancing the overall perspective in the New Zealand television news coverage of the EU as a rather distant and irrelevant actor.

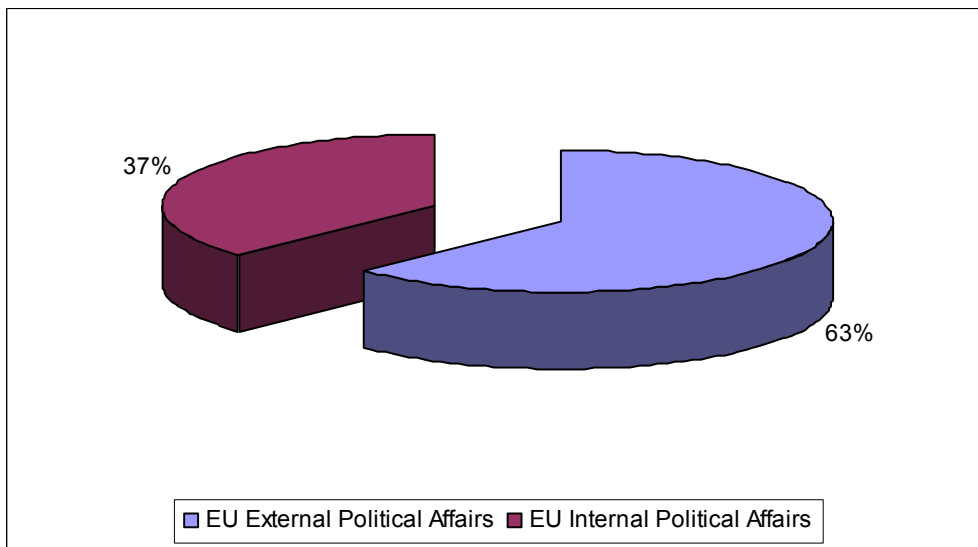


Figure 4.12: EU Television News - Political Sub-Frames

4.2.8 Evaluations

While the above framing analysis indicates the areas in which the EU's actions were highlighted by New Zealand television news bulletins, this study was also interested in seeing how the EU's various actions and activities were evaluated by New Zealand newsmakers. The analysis of the evaluations of the EU was completed using two methodological tools. Firstly, an overall evaluative tone towards the EU was garnered from the total propositions in each news item; and secondly, each individual proposition was assessed for the conceptual metaphors that it contained. The identified conceptual metaphors were subsequently analysed for the detailed imagery of the EU that they contained. Because of the richness of detail in the metaphorical data set, these metaphorical representations are dealt with separately in two case studies that are presented in Chapters 6 and 7.

The assessment of the overall evaluation tone of each EU news item is presented in Figure 4.13. As can be seen, almost half of all New Zealand television news items

presenting the EU were catalogued as being neutral in tone. Neutral EU news items were considered to be those items which made no explicit evaluation of the EU or its actions. Alternatively, the EU and its activities could be evaluated either positively or negatively. When an evaluation was identified, it was found that the EU was more likely to be evaluated positively (37 percent) than it was negatively (15 percent).

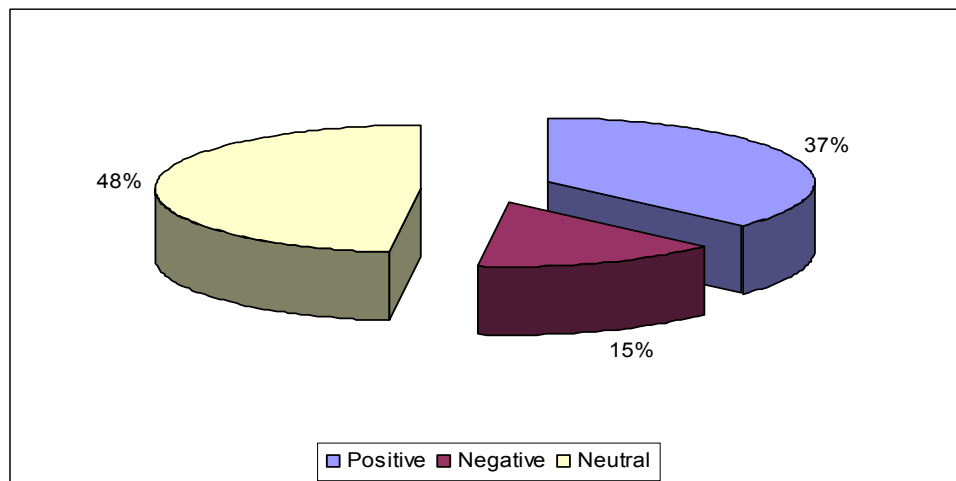


Figure 4.13: Evaluation of EU on New Zealand Television News (Proportion of Total)

Breaking this evaluation analysis down according to the three primary frames reveals an interesting finding, which can be seen in Figure 4.14.

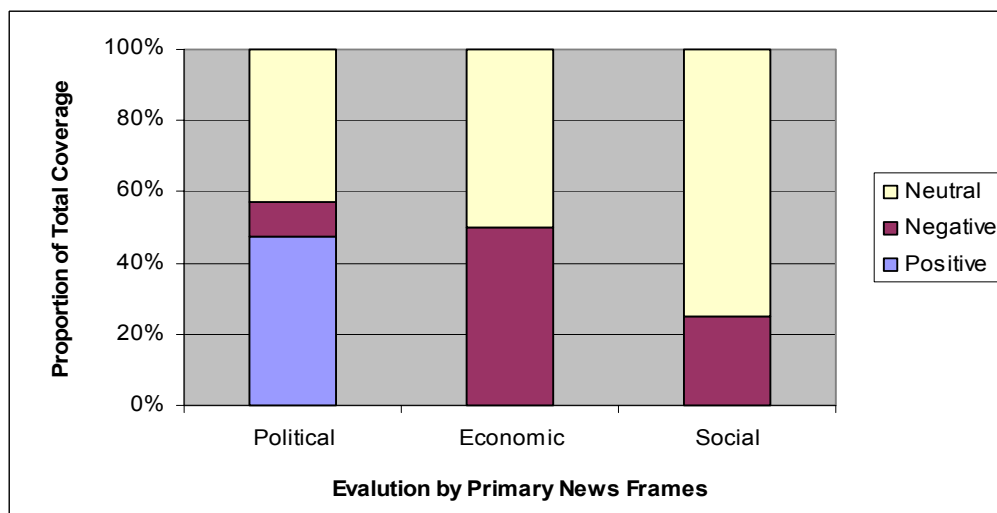


Figure 4.14: Evaluation of EU on New Zealand Television News by Primary Frames

As Figure 4.14 shows, the EU's politically framed actions were the only ones to be evaluated positively by New Zealand newsmakers, and negative assessments were far less frequent. One politically-oriented news item which gave a positive evaluation of the EU's activities, for example, was the EU's condemnation of the death sentences of Bulgarian health workers in Libya: although the news event itself might be considered a negative news item, the EU's actions were positioned in opposition to that negativity, thus resulting in a positive evaluation of the Union. In the economically framed coverage, however, evaluations of the EU were either non-existent or negative, as, for example, in the news item that discussed the EU's agricultural subsidies which were considered to unfairly advantage EU farmers over those in New Zealand. EU social affairs news was found to be primarily without evaluation.

4.2.9 News Values

As discussed previously, in their ability to make key selection and framing decisions about news content, journalists and news producers act as 'gatekeepers', controlling the flow of communication and information in societies. While there are a variety of factors argued to influence the ways in which newsmakers choose to shape these information flows,⁴²⁹ ensuring that their news items adhere to well-defined values of newsworthiness is an important one.

Following the methodology of the APP project, this study analysed the identified EU news items according to Shoemaker and Reese's classification of leading news values.⁴³⁰ These news values were: conflict/controversy, human interest, cultural proximity, timeliness, and prominence/importance. Every EU news item was scrutinised to establish the leading news value that had warranted its inclusion in the

⁴²⁹ See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the other factors which contribute to the shaping of news.

⁴³⁰ Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

bulletin. In the highly competitive environment of the media, and particularly of television news media, competition exists not only between outlets, but between news items to make the bulletin. In light of this, it was found in this analysis that EU news items on New Zealand television news generally contained more than one of the leading news values. Figure 4.15 shows the proportional categorisation of the identified news values.

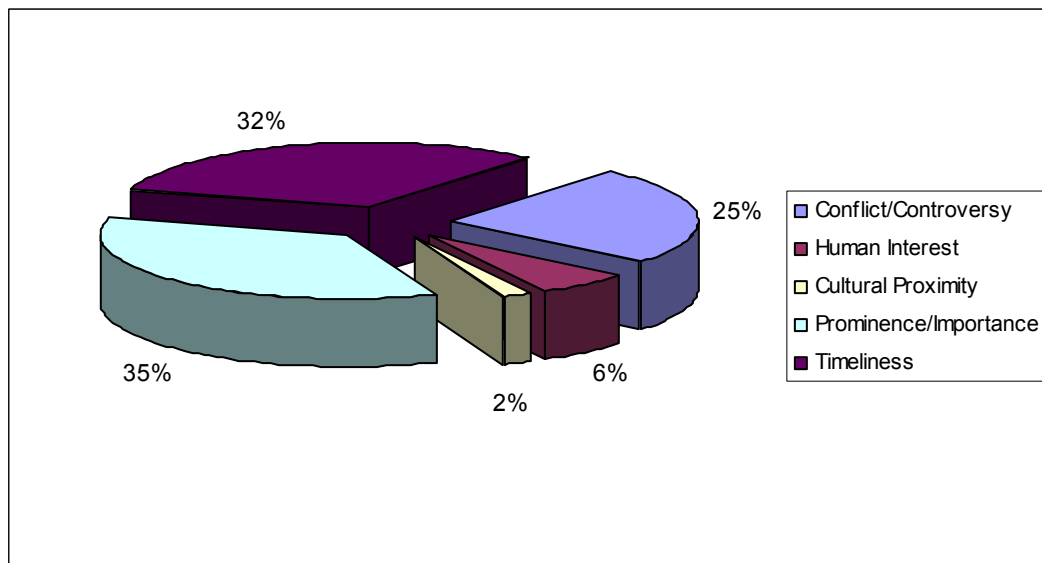


Figure 4.15: Character of EU Television News in New Zealand

As is evident, two news values in particular accounted for the majority of EU news coverage: prominence/importance, and timeliness (35 percent and 32 percent of the total news values respectively). Despite this clear dominance by these two values, however, it is argued here that both values could likely account for the majority of news items in any television news bulletin regarding any subject matter. A typical claim of news outlets is that their task is to bring their audiences ‘the most important news of the day’. According to such a declaration, priority in the news bulletin will always be given to events of particular global or local significance (*the most important* news) and events that are very recent (of *the day*). Therefore, in line with

this argument, it is perhaps the second layer of news values that is of greater importance, because it is this additional layer which may indicate why one particular news story stood out for newsmakers and thus justified its inclusion in the bulletin's coverage.

As such, in the classification system of news values that was employed by this thesis, it is arguably the three additional news values that may offer greater insight into the reasons that EU events in particular are considered newsworthy. As can be seen in Figure 4.15, of those three remaining categories, conflict/controversy was the most evident by a significant margin. Many of the EU news stories, and particularly the politically-framed items, incorporated this element of conflict, unsurprising perhaps given the focus of television news bulletins on dramatic stories that 'bleed', for example violent battles and conflicts between nation states and people. The EU's involvement in the Middle East was almost always found to include some level of conflict or controversy, as was its engagement with the US, particularly concerning Iraq and the differing positions of many EU Member States with the official American stance, for example. A level of human interest and/or cultural proximity by comparison, was found to be present in only a marginal number of EU news items, particularly those which covered health-related news events, like the EU's decision to begin printing graphic pictures of diseases on cigarette packets (human interest), in an attempt at discouraging smokers, an initiative which was shown as one which New Zealand authorities may also decide to implement (cultural proximity).

4.3. INTERPRETING THE EU ‘REFLECTION’

If Tuchman’s claim that, “...the news aims to tell us what we want to know, need to know, and should know”,⁴³¹ is correct, then we may ask to what extent the coverage of the EU on New Zealand television news in 2004 met these goals? What has this analysis of the EU’s television news portrayal told us about the EU’s overall reflection in the mirror of the New Zealand television news space? Unquestionably, the most dramatic finding of this analysis was the abysmal level of EU coverage, particularly in light of the many prominent EU-related events during the year. Despite this, a number of EU news items were identified and from these a variety of key trends and patterns are apparent which warrant further discussion.

The majority of EU news items that did appear were presented on TV1’s One News, indicating a particular lack of EU news priority on 3 News. Ownership of the news outlet may help to account for this finding. TV3 is a fully commercial private network, and as such has no public service mandate, unlike TV1 which is part of the crown-owned enterprise, TVNZ. Although the latter must still make a profit for its primary shareholder, the New Zealand government, it also has a formal Charter which obligates it to, “provide independent, comprehensive, impartial, and *in-depth coverage* and analysis of news and current affairs in New Zealand and *throughout the world* and of the activities of public and private institutions”.⁴³² This obligation on the part of the publicly-owned broadcaster may help to explain its greater news attention towards one of New Zealand’s most important trading partners, although clearly given the low overall total, TV1 is arguably falling somewhat short of its objective of ‘in-depth coverage and analysis’ of a leading international actor.

⁴³¹ Gaye Tuchman, *Making News*, 2.

⁴³² Television New Zealand, *Charter*, http://images.tvnz.co.nz/tvnz/pdf/tvnz_charter.pdf, 2. Emphasis added.

In addition to being very low overall, the level of EU coverage by New Zealand television news bulletins was also found in this analysis to be unsteady. Coverage throughout the 12 month monitoring period was highly irregular, with periods of relative intensity of news attention, followed by lengthy periods of total EU absence from New Zealand television news screens. The EU news that was covered by either network was almost always exclusively related to a prominent and timely event. Iyengar has discussed the preference of television news outlets for focusing their bulletins' attention on what he termed "episodic" coverage, compared to the more "thematic" coverage often found in newspapers. The author describes the two news 'styles' thus:

The essential difference between episodic and thematic framing is that episodic framing depicts concrete events that illustrate issues, while thematic framing presents collective or general evidence. Visually, episodic reports make 'good pictures' while thematic reports feature 'talking heads'.⁴³³

The New Zealand television news coverage of the EU discussed in this chapter can be seen to fit within Iyengar's definition of episodic coverage. The analysis of the topics and the investigation of the triggers for the periods of higher broadcast news attention indicated that the EU was only visible on New Zealand television news screens if it was involved in a particularly prominent issue or event, such as the enlargement, or in various Middle East countries, or in negotiations with Turkey for EU membership, for example. There was minimal coverage of ongoing themes in EU integration and development (with the exception of the enlargement, which was covered, but only in response to the significant 2004 events), and little if any coverage given to the complex and important relationship between the EU and New Zealand.

⁴³³ Shanto Iyengar, *Is Anyone Responsible?*, 14.

The events generating periods of EU coverage were also very often highly dramatic and sizable events, and thus ones with exciting pictures. Many of these ‘good pictures’ will be analysed in greater detail in Chapters 6 and 7, but it is argued that the presence of such images with an EU-event may have increased the likelihood of EU coverage on New Zealand television news. In addition to centring on prominent or timely global and EU events, this analysis found that coverage of the EU by New Zealand prime-time television news bulletins was much more likely if the Union was involved in an area of conflict or controversy. The coverage of the EU which incorporated this news value of conflict was also generally the coverage which related to the topic of EU international relations. The EU was seen to be involved in a variety of global ‘hot spots’ of conflict, including the Middle East (and in particular Israel-Palestine, Iran and Iraq), as well as events like Ukraine’s presidential election crisis which prompted dramatic international attention.

The dominance of enlargement as a theme was largely unsurprising. In addition to being a highly topical event in 2004, it was also an event which featured a range of good news ‘pictures’ of the various festivities and celebrations which were held through the EU, many of which are discussed further in Chapter 6. Additionally, the identified enlargement coverage was solely concerned with the events as they happened *inside* the European Union. There was no attention given to the prospects or risks for New Zealand of the dramatic EU-evolution, nor was there coverage of what the changes to the EU would mean for its other external partners. And yet, arguably, the massive increases in the EU’s size and population, as well as the inclusion of many new agriculturally-based economies into the EU-fold could be seen to have very real consequences – both short and long term – especially for a country like New Zealand with such a vested economic interest in its export market in Europe. None of these issues were addressed by the prime-time New Zealand television news coverage of enlargement, and it is interesting to explore the reasons for this, and the preference instead for coverage of the EU involved primarily in international conflicts.

One factor which may contribute to these peculiarities is the sourcing of the news items. As was shown above, the overwhelming majority of EU news items that screened on either of the two monitored bulletins were sourced from the international news wires. The BBC in particular was prominently used by One News, and CNN also featured. While the study was unable to account for the other specific global news agencies utilised, it is fair to say that in general an international flavour – albeit a predominantly Anglophone one – seasoned the New Zealand television news coverage of the EU.

This dependence on foreign-sourced material was not altogether surprising. The commercial environment in which both of the monitored networks operate has necessitated a focus on increasing cost-effectiveness, particularly since deregulation and the introduction of privatisation in New Zealand. News bulletins may claim to bring their audiences ‘all the news of the day’, but they can only do so if it is commercially viable, and as a result, cost cutting measures have become increasingly important and have dictated coverage trends. One of the first things to be cut by a news network is typically its foreign bureaus.⁴³⁴ Moisy has noted that this is not only the case for local outlets but for the major international television news agencies also. According to Moisy, even CNN has only 35 foreign correspondents in 23 bureaus around the world⁴³⁵; an arguably inadequate number of reporters for the network to be able to produce full accounts of the world’s daily happenings. Indeed, maintaining a full foreign bureau in another country is an expensive undertaking, particularly for a country like New Zealand, so physically removed from other parts of the world, and especially Europe. Small national networks, such as TV1 and TV3 can not afford to sustain foreign correspondents in Brussels, Paris or Berlin. At the time of these

⁴³⁴ Claude Moisy, “Myths of the Global Information Village”, 79; Herbert Gans, *Democracy and the News*, 23.

⁴³⁵ Claude Moisy, “Myths of the Global Information Village”, 78.

investigations, both TV1 and TV3 maintained foreign correspondents in Australia, but only TV1 had a Europe-based correspondent. While called the 'European correspondent', this reporter is in fact located in London and from there is responsible for covering not only the United Kingdom and continental Europe (including EU news), but also Africa, the Middle East and all of Russia.⁴³⁶ It is inevitable that such an over-extended and under-resourced reporter will be unable to effectively cover all of the many areas that they are responsible for.

So then, if they do not have the resources to maintain their own correspondents, from where do television news bulletins get their international news? Increasingly, smaller local and national television networks look to the international news agencies as the most cost-efficient means of bringing their audiences the 'top' international news stories of the day. Most television news networks have subscriptions to major foreign news agencies which allow them access to all the news items produced by these services.⁴³⁷

But, as useful and cost-effective as these services are, the reliance on their material is not without consequences, as Hamilton has discussed. Because the international news agencies are producing news items that they hope to sell widely, their reports must necessarily be as generic as possible.⁴³⁸ If a news item is produced for example, that focuses primarily on the effects of EU enlargement on the New Zealand economy, then that news item is unlikely to be purchased by news outlets other than those in New Zealand. If, on the other hand, an organisation like the BBC produces a

⁴³⁶ While TV3 did not have a Europe-based correspondent at the time of this research, in late 2006, the network announced that it was posting a full-time reporter to Europe, although as with TV1, this correspondent was to be stationed in London. It will be interesting to see if future studies find an increase in EU coverage on TV3 perhaps as a result of this new correspondent. See: Media Works, "European Correspondent Appointed", (14 November 2006), <http://www.mediaworks.co.nz/Default.aspx?tabid=157&articleID=231>.

⁴³⁷ James Hamilton, *All the News that's Fit to Sell*, 26.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*

television news item investigating the EU's role in the Ukrainian presidential election crisis, then that news item may be purchased by any news outlet globally that has been following the events in Ukraine. Hamilton argues that while this is a cost effective news production system, as a consequence of such tactics, it "can also lead to more homogeneous coverage",⁴³⁹ where very diverse countries end up viewing essentially the same non-specific news items.

Despite this largely homogeneous EU news coverage however, it could also be argued that while the international news agencies do deliberately produce rather bland news items that appear to be largely objective, these reports are also inevitably coloured with an "ideologically distinctive view of the world".⁴⁴⁰ The noted prominence of an agency like the BBC in the New Zealand EU coverage is arguably providing a largely British view of the events on the European continent, which may prove detrimental to the overall image of the EU that is constructed in the New Zealand television news sphere. Since the UK, and particularly many facets of the UK media, is widely regarded as being 'Eurosceptic' in its approach towards the EU,⁴⁴¹ it is likely that at least some of this generally negative approach will also filter through into the New Zealand television news coverage, if the almost exclusive use of a British news agency as the basis for reports on the EU continues.

Additionally, the reliance on foreign sources for news on an actor like the EU may have other consequences specifically for the local news outlet. Because they purchase news items ready-made from the wires, there is little need to develop specific knowledge and expertise within the staff of a news outlet itself.⁴⁴² If the local staffers

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁰ Mic Dover, "Beyond the Wire", 16.

⁴⁴¹ Anthony Forster, *Euroscepticism in Contemporary British Politics: Opposition to Europe in the British Conservative and Labour Parties Since 1945*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2002).

⁴⁴² Mic Dover, "Beyond the Wire", 16.

have no direct knowledge of the EU, or experience in covering events relating to it, then arguably they will not feel sufficiently comfortable with the subject area to want to investigate and report on its issues themselves. The dependence on international material may thus prove to be a chronic situation. Because their own reporters have no expertise on EU matters, news outlets must therefore continue to rely on the international wire services, but the more that they utilise these mass-produced news items, the less involved their own staff are in covering a complex and ever-changing entity like the EU, and so a detrimental cycle may begin. In the event of such a pattern developing, as it seems already to be in New Zealand television news, there is likely to be increasingly generic coverage which will largely fail to connect an actor like the EU with local audiences.

This argument is consistent with an additional trend in the EU television news coverage in New Zealand. It was found in this analysis that when the EU was featured in a news item, the Union was generally found to be the primary focus of that news item, and the item itself was likely to be chiefly concerned with events happening within the EU, or elsewhere in a 3rd country. Importantly, the EU was very seldom shown by New Zealand prime-time television news bulletins to be acting in a way that had direct relevance for the New Zealand domestic news audience.

Yet, grounding a foreign counterpart in the domestic discourse has been found to be an efficient technique used by news makers to capture and retain their audiences' attention since domestic news is considered to possess what has been described as "master-status".⁴⁴³ According to such an argument, domestic news is considered to result in a perception of higher relevance for audience members, thus ensuring their interest is maintained. Indeed, Chaban *et al.* have noted that, "[i]n their mission to educate, inform, entertain, and to sell copies newsmakers often employ the strategy of

⁴⁴³ Stephen Hilgartner and Charles Bosk, "The Rise and Fall of Social Problems", 60.

‘refracting’ international news through a national angle in reporting, interweaving foreign and domestic perspectives in the reporting of international happenings”.⁴⁴⁴

This strategy of ‘domesticising’ foreign news is often referred to as a “national hook”,⁴⁴⁵ and previous studies have found it to be a widely used approach. Indeed, Kevin’s previous study of the EU’s representation in the news media of various European countries found that the visibility of the EU was often directly related to the degree of relevance that the EU was seen to have for the domestic news market.⁴⁴⁶ The author found that “...on top of the normal pressures on journalists...whether commercial, editorial or political, there is an added dimension of developing an interest in European issues. This is one of the reasons for the constant need for a ‘national hook’ in stories”.⁴⁴⁷

It is interesting, therefore, that this popular approach for triggering audience interest was not employed by New Zealand newsmakers reporting on the EU. As Chapter 1 noted, the interconnections between New Zealand and the EU, in terms of not only trade but also in a variety of political and social areas, are sufficient that many EU developments and actions could be seen to impact on New Zealand in a number of ways. This would arguably be particularly likely in the case of enlargement, for example, which could have been seen to have consequences for New Zealand’s agricultural exports to the EU, as well as the labour market, and two-way migration.⁴⁴⁸ However, these connections were not made in the New Zealand

⁴⁴⁴ Natalia Chaban, Jessica Bain, Katrina Stats, Paveena Sutthisripok, “Seeing Europe through the Eyes of Others: How ‘Local’ is the EU in Asia-Pacific News?” *Journal of Language and Intercultural Communication* 6, No. 3 & 4 (2006), 192.

⁴⁴⁵ Deirdre Kevin, *Europe in the Media*, 132.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 132.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁸ Matthew Gibbons, “European Union Expansion and its Effects on New Zealand”, *NCRE Roundtable Seminar Series*, 29 April 2005,

television news coverage of the EU in 2004. Instead, the EU was framed from a broadly international perspective, with its activities being seen to affect only its own Member States or other countries situated outside of New Zealand, perhaps creating a new type of 'NIMBY' effect, whereby the EU is considered to play a global role, but 'not in New Zealand's backyard'.

However the use of a domestic 'hook' in foreign news reportage is not without its faults; while it has been found to induce a perception of higher relevance amongst audience members, it can also be argued that a number of important and compelling foreign events which have no immediate domestic connection will not be covered if the tactic is used too extensively, it can also be argued that the almost complete lack of such domesticated EU reporting has even greater consequences. Rather than being portrayed as an important international partner whose actions have a very real impact on New Zealand, the EU was consistently, and misleadingly, depicted by New Zealand television newsmakers as a solely foreign actor, with little or no real relevance for New Zealanders.

The emphasis on the political actions of the EU, to the exclusion of coverage on its economic and social affairs is also noteworthy. The rationale for the lack of EU economic news may be found in the nature of television news itself. Political events are often accompanied by the all important 'good pictures' necessary for television news bulletins. Wars, protests, terrorism and elections are political events that are not only often discussed in terms of conflict and drama, but are also events that have visually compelling images accompanying them, and thus can be regarded as 'good' news. Indeed, Postman and Powers have noted that often news stories may screen on

<http://www.europe.canterbury.ac.nz/research/enlargement2.shtml>; Milenko Petrovic and Peter Barrer, "EU Enlargement to the East as an Opportunity for New Zealand", (Paper presented at the *New Zealand European Studies Conference*, August 29-30 2003), http://www.europe.canterbury.ac.nz/research/pdf/mp_eu_enlargement_2003.pdf.

television bulletins purely because they contain such images.⁴⁴⁹ Economic news on the other hand, particularly about a foreign country or actor, is less typically able to be discussed through exciting visual imagery. Negotiating the latest EU budget, for example, or debating the removal of agricultural subsidies for EU farmers is not visually compelling subject matter, and thus, regardless of the importance of the events, they are argued to be unlikely to ever make the television news bulletins in New Zealand.

The low level of EU social affairs news, however, is somewhat more perplexing. Human interest stories are generally considered to be prime fodder for television news bulletins, especially in an age of depoliticised news and the ever-growing ‘soft news’ phenomena.⁴⁵⁰ Yet, these humanistic and ‘soft’ aspects of the EU were virtually absent from prime-time New Zealand television news coverage. Included in the notably absent social affairs news was news pertaining to the EU’s prominent environmental policies, or its advances in science and research – all ‘soft’ areas of action in which the EU plays a leading global role.⁴⁵¹ It is difficult to account for this finding. Perhaps the EU was not involved in prominent social affairs’ activities during 2004 (although this is factually highly unlikely), and future studies will in fact find a greater proportion of this type of coverage. Alternatively, it may be that newsmakers in New Zealand simply do not view the EU as a powerful social affairs actor, and thus do not feature it in their bulletins acting in such a manner.

⁴⁴⁹ Neil Postman and Steve Powers, *How to Watch Television News*, 111.

⁴⁵⁰ Doris Graber, Denis McQuail, Pippa Norris, “Introduction: Political Communication in a Democracy”, 3; Herbert Gans, *Democracy and the News*, 28.

⁴⁵¹ See for example: European Commission, “Communication to the Council, the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Towards a European Research Area”, *COM 2000/0006 Final*, http://eurlex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!DocNumber&lg=en&type_doc=COMfinal&an_doc=2000&nu_doc=6.

In accordance with several studies of the EU's news representations in internal EU news media discourses,⁴⁵² conflict-based coverage was also found to play an important role in the screening of EU news items on New Zealand television news. After prominence or timeliness – the two news values which were argued to be the most likely news values within the majority of television news items – conflict or controversy within a news item was found to be the leading additional layer of news value most likely to trigger coverage of an EU-related event. What was particularly surprising, however, was that although conflict-based coverage was found to be an important factor in the coverage of EU events, in the analysis of the EU's evaluation, the majority of news items were found to be without explicit assessment. In the case of EU political affairs though – the most prominent frame of EU action – it was found that the EU was most likely to be evaluated positively when an evaluation was made. This indicates that although the EU was acting in areas of global conflict, it was generally presented as acting in a positive manner, as seen for example in its negotiations with Iran to stop its nuclear development programme, or working towards peace in the Middle East. This connects to one aspect of the EU's coverage throughout 2004 that was particularly prominent; the dominance of an image of the EU as a strong global political actor. This framing of the EU was clearly the preference of New Zealand newsmakers, and can perhaps be seen a positive for the EU. As an emerging 'superpower', one that is 'softer' than the traditional 'hard power' approach, the EU is increasingly attempting to find an appropriate position for itself on the world stage,⁴⁵³ and in the New Zealand television sphere at least, it seems that this position has been found.

The final trend to emerge from this analysis relates to the actors who represented the EU in the monitored coverage. It was found that within EU-related news items, actors

⁴⁵² For example: Pascale Leroy and Karen Siune, "The Role of Television in European Elections"; Holli Semetko and Patti Valkenburg, "Framing European Politics". See Chapter 2 for further details about the findings of these studies.

⁴⁵³ Benita Ferrero-Waldner, "The European Union and New Zealand".

who spoke for the various EU Member States and their institutions were vastly more prominent than actors representing the various pillars of the EU. A variety of reasons may help to account for this particular finding, and the first of these relates to Philip Fiske de Gouveia's comment at the beginning of this chapter. As an entity, the EU epitomises constant change and evolution. It is often described as *sui generis*, and it is certainly unique as an integrated political and economic grouping of nation-states. Because of this novelty, the EU is often regarded as difficult to understand, and arguably this is as much the case for newsmakers reporting on the Union from across the globe, as it is for the consumers of the news product that they create. Understanding what a Member of the EP is or does, or knowing who a European Commissioner is and what exactly they represent may be difficult for those not intimately familiar with the mechanics of the EU. As such, it is possible that New Zealand television newsmakers avoid audience confusion by prioritising actors representing the Member States of the EU. Tony Blair, Jacques Chirac and Silvio Berlusconi are not only more readily recognisable to international news audiences than are Javier Solana or Guenther Verheugen, but additionally, the leaders of Britain, France, Germany or even Poland occupy very clearly defined and long-understood roles. They are the leaders of nations, and as such, are familiar and are therefore seemingly the preferred actors to profile in news reports related to the EU. Kevin also found evidence of this prioritising of national actors over European ones in her analysis of EU news coverage inside the Union. The author argued that, "[p]art of the reason [for a Member State focus] involves the need to 'personalise' the news and give the stories a 'face'. Stories that are personality driven attract a lot of media attention".⁴⁵⁴ As yet, it seems, the 'faces' of the European Union are not as famous as their national counterparts.

Another more pragmatic explanation may also help to account for this Member State preference, however. As has been discussed, EU political affairs, and particularly EU

⁴⁵⁴ Deirdre Kevin, *Europe in the Media*, 126.

international political affairs were found to dominate the New Zealand 2004 television news coverage. EU foreign policy, or the CFSP, as it is officially known, is a branch of the EU that is still very much a Member State domain. Unlike EU economic and monetary policies which are decided at the Community-level, CFSP is operated under pillar two of the EU's governing treaties, meaning that the decision-making control and conduct of these actions primarily rests at the nation-state level. It could be argued then, that the prominence of Member State actors in this analysis may not necessarily be a result of unfamiliarity with EU processes, but simply a logical consequence of the nature of the EU's intergovernmental international relations.

4.4. CONCLUSION

As outlined in Chapter 2, this thesis aims to contribute to the debate about the ongoing legitimacy crisis of the EU by providing an external perspective on the EU's identity and in particular how this is represented in the television news media of New Zealand. Overall, the results discussed in this chapter indicate a number of areas of the external representations of the EU which may be cause for concern. The most striking and most troubling of these was the sheer lack of coverage given to the EU in either of the monitored television news bulletins. While it was found that the publicly-owned broadcaster, TV1, did afford slightly higher priority to the EU than did their privately-owned rivals TV3, overall, the EU was often invisible on either network. This is significant for the debate about the understandings of the EU outside of its borders. As Manners and Whitman have noted, the EU's "...absence [on the world stage] may be at least as important as 'presence' in giving a full account of the international role of the EU".⁴⁵⁵ In New Zealand television news discourses, it has been found that the EU

⁴⁵⁵ Ian Manners, and Richard Whitman, "Towards Identifying the International Identity of the European Union: A Framework for Analysis of the EU's Network of Relationships", *European Integration* 21, (1998), 234.

is more often absent than present, thus indicating an impaired priority for the EU within New Zealand.

However, in contrast to this lack of importance afforded the EU, when it was present within the monitored news bulletins, the EU was depicted in a way which emphasised its very strong presence on the world stage. The EU was predominately presented as an active partner in many of the world's areas of conflict, and broadly it was viewed positively in this role. But, although this depiction is arguably a positive one for the construction of a strong EU international identity, it also positioned the EU in a role that was seen to have little or no real bearing on the daily concerns of New Zealand television news consumers. A very small minority of the analysed EU news items discussed the domestic relevance of EU developments, however overall, the EU was shown as involved in its own concerns, or in the affairs of other countries, but largely irrelevant to the concerns of New Zealand. Finally, the continued preference for featuring different Member State actors and the consequent lack of a clear EU 'face' in the New Zealand coverage can be seen as cause for concern for the EU. Arguably such an image promotes a continued confusion about just who the EU is, and who speaks on its behalf not only in world affairs, but also in its own internal functioning.

Thus, this analysis has found a discernable preference of New Zealand television newsmakers in constructing an image of the EU in 2004. Contextualisation is now needed, to further shed light on the manner in which newsmakers outside the EU prefer to frame the European Union. Is the New Zealand case exceptional, or do these problematic trends in EU television news images exist in other countries outside the EU also? Chapter 5 will answer these questions by comparing the New Zealand case to those of its Asia-Pacific neighbours: Australia, South Korea and Thailand.

CHAPTER 5

LOOKING IN MANY MIRRORS:

REPRESENTING THE EU IN ASIA-PACIFIC TELEVISION NEWS

“Learning to see the world from multiple positions...becomes a means to better understand how the world as a totality works”.
David Harvey, 1996⁴⁵⁶

The findings of the previous chapter have provided a number of insights into the manner in which the EU is represented in the popular news media of one of its external partners. However, as Harvey notes above, multiple perspectives are fundamental for more fully realising international interactions and perceptions. Addressing this, Chapter 5 positions the findings of the New Zealand television news analysis within the context of the wider Asia-Pacific region, in order to establish whether the New Zealand case was extraordinary, or whether it was instead a more standard example of international television news images of the EU.

As part of the APP project, media monitoring was undertaken in four Asia-Pacific countries throughout 2004; in addition to New Zealand, two prime-time evening television news bulletins in Australia, South Korea and Thailand were also examined for EU news coverage.⁴⁵⁷ This chapter explores the formal and content features of the

⁴⁵⁶ David Harvey, *Justice, Nature and the Politics of Difference*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell 1996), 284.

⁴⁵⁷ Following the example of New Zealand, where one privately owned and one fully commercial network were selected for monitoring, two similarly-owned networks in Australia, South Korea and Thailand were monitored. The following networks were chosen and their primetime news bulletins monitored daily through out 2004. Australia: ABC and Channel 9; South Korea: KBS and MBC; Thailand: Channel 7 and ITV.

construction of an EU image in the television news discourses of these countries and compares the findings of the New Zealand case to those of three of its regional neighbours. Firstly, though, the relationships between the three additional countries and the EU will be outlined, to provide context for the television news analysis that is to follow.

5.1 THE EU IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION: COUNTRY RELATIONS

The countries selected for analysis within the APP project characterise a range of different contexts, in terms of political, economic, historical and linguistic circumstances. Yet, for each of them, the EU is an important foreign partner.

A former British colony in the South Pacific, Australia is a federal-state system with a long history of cultural connections with Europe. The Australian population has been shaped in part by significant immigration from Europe, and while the proportion of European-born Australians has declined in more recent years, the group still accounts for over 50 percent of the foreign-born Australian population.⁴⁵⁸ Economically, the EU holds great importance for Australia, and for at least the last 15 years the Union has been Australia's largest single economic partner,⁴⁵⁹ although this relationship has been marked by significant reluctance on the part of the Australian government to consider the EU as a single economic partner,⁴⁶⁰ and by the ongoing conflict between the Union and its trading partners over the EU's protectionist economic policies, in

⁴⁵⁸ Australian Bureau of Statistics, "Australian Social Trends: Population", <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/94713ad445ff1425ca25682000192af2/27c5532c626ff114ca256ea20015c008!OpenDocument>.

⁴⁵⁹ Katrina Stats, "Reading Europe: Representations of the EU in the Australian Media", (Paper presented at the *Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Conference*, La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia, 27 September 2004), 1.

⁴⁶⁰ Katrina Stats, "Framing the European Union: An Australian Case Study of the European Union's Image Abroad", (MA Thesis, University of Melbourne, 2006), 19-20

particular the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP).⁴⁶¹ Despite these challenges, the EU accounts for around 20 percent of Australia's total global trade, including 15 percent of Australian exports and 23 percent of its imports.⁴⁶² Politically, relations between the EU and Australia in recent years have not been as involved. As Murray's previously discussed research suggested, Australia approaches the EU with a relative degree of reservation, preferring to deal bilaterally with the individual Member States rather than the EU itself.⁴⁶³ Additionally, Australia has increasingly looked to strengthen its relations with the US,⁴⁶⁴ and has aligned with the US on contentious matters like the war in Iraq and the Kyoto protocol; matters on which the EU has had a very different stance. Despite these difficulties though, official relations between the EU and Australia are cordial, with the EU recognising Australia's importance in the Asia-Pacific region; a region which the emerging European superpower wishes to increase its role and involvement.⁴⁶⁵

The Republic of Korea is a prosperous democratic country in East Asia with strong political and economic relations with the EU. As an OECD country, South Korea has an open market economy and extensive trading links with the EU. The EU is South Korea's second largest export partner and is the largest foreign investor in South

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*; Philomena Murray, *Australia and the European Superpower*; Philomena Murray, "What Australians Think About the EU"; See also: Peter Hendy, "Enlargement of the European Union", (Paper presented at the *EU Enlargement Conference*, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia, 16 April 2003), 4.
http://www.acci.asn.au/text_files/speeches_transcripts/PH_EU_Enlargement_Conference_160403.pdf.

⁴⁶² European Commission, Delegation to Australia and New Zealand, "EU-Australia Economic Relations 2004", EU Insight,
http://www.delau.ec.europa.eu/eu_and_australia/2004_EconomicRelationship.htm, Accessed 23 July 2006.

⁴⁶³ Philomena Murray, *Australia and the European Superpower*. See also: Philomena Murray, "What Australians Think About the EU".

⁴⁶⁴ Alexander Downer, "Australia and the US: A Vital Friendship", Speech by Alexander Downer, Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the *Australian Centre for American Studies*, Sydney, 29 May 1996, http://www.dfat.gov.au/media/speeches/foreign/1996/aust_uni.html.

⁴⁶⁵ Alexander Downer, "Europe and the Asia-Pacific Region", Speech by the Hon. Alexander Downer, Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the *Swedish Institute of International Affairs*, Stockholm, 2 February 2001, http://www.dfat.gov.au/media/speeches/foreign/2001/010202_fa_euasias.html; Benita Ferrero-Waldner, "The European Union and New Zealand".

Korea, while Korea is the EU's fourth largest trading partner.⁴⁶⁶ Whereas the other three countries involved in the analysis in this chapter all trade with the EU in primarily agricultural products, South Korea's main exports to the EU consist of information technology products, textiles and transportation equipment,⁴⁶⁷ and as such economic relations between Korea and the EU are not marred by the ongoing agricultural subsidies debate that affects the EU's relations with other countries of this study. Politically, relations between the EU and South Korea are conducted on the basis of shared political values, and the key issue of promoting peace and stability on the Korean peninsula.⁴⁶⁸ Importantly, the EU's approach to the matter of North Korea has been viewed by Korean elites in particular as being preferable to the more rigid stance of the US.⁴⁶⁹

While the other three countries of this study are OECD members, Thailand is instead a developing economy, however, like the others, EU-Thai economic relations are strong. The EU is Thailand's third most important trading partner, and accounts for more than 15 percent of Thai international trade.⁴⁷⁰ Much of Thailand's trade with the EU has been subjected to the EU's Generalised System of Preferences (GSP) scheme which provides tariff preferences to certain developing countries.⁴⁷¹ The GSP has been applied to Thai agricultural and fisheries exports to the EU, although the phasing out of some GSP arrangements, particularly in regard to Thai shrimp exports has been

⁴⁶⁶ European Commission, "The EU's Relations with the Republic of Korea", http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/south_korea/intro/eu_korea_rel.htm.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁹ Jessica Bain, Katrina Stats, Sung-Hoon Park and Heungchong Kim, "The Asia-Pacific Power Elite and the Soft Superpower: Elite Perceptions of the EU in the Asia-Pacific", in *Public, Elite and Media Perceptions of the EU in the Asia-Pacific*, edited by Natalia Chaban and Martin Holland; Sung-Hoon Park and Heungchong Kim, "The European Union in the Eyes of Korean Elites", *Asia-Pacific Journal of EU Studies* 4, No. 2 (2006).

⁴⁷⁰ Martin Holland *et al.*, "The EU in the Views of Asia-Pacific Elites", *NCRE Research Series* No. 5, (2005), 6.

⁴⁷¹ European Commission, "Generalised System of Preferences", *External Trade – Trade Issues*, http://ec.europa.eu/trade/issues/global/gsp/index_en.htm.

a challenge to the relationship in more recent years.⁴⁷² The outbreak of avian flu in 2004 in Thailand has also impacted on trading relations between the two partners, with respect to Thai poultry exports to the EU, because of the decision of the Commission to halt such imports from Thailand.⁴⁷³ Politically, official relations between the two partners are primarily conducted through the EC-ASEAN dialogue and ASEM process, and additional bilateral dialogues with EU Member States and Thailand.⁴⁷⁴ While the 2006 military coup in Thailand has defined the scope of political interactions between the EU and Thailand more recently,⁴⁷⁵ because the data discussed in this chapter predates the crisis it is therefore not impacted by the events.

Thus, the EU can be considered an important partner for the three additional countries involved in this comparative analysis, both from an economic and a political perspective. In addition, the EU plays a key role in various regional political forums in which the three discussed countries and New Zealand are also involved. The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) (of which Thailand is a member) and the EU have a key dialogue which has focused extensively on increasing stability and security in the region,⁴⁷⁶ and the Asia Europe Meeting (ASEM) framework (in which both South Korea and Thailand participate) consolidates these efforts through informal dialogue and cooperation.⁴⁷⁷ In the Pacific, Australia and New Zealand

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*

⁴⁷³ European Commission, “Avian Influenza: Response to Outbreaks in Third Countries 2004/2005”, *Chronology of Main Events and List of Decisions Adopted by the Commission*, http://ec.europa.eu/food/animal/diseases/controlmeasures/avian/ai_part1_0905_en.pdf, 3.

⁴⁷⁴ European Commission, “The EU’s Relations with Thailand”, http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/thailand/intro/index.htm.

⁴⁷⁵ European Presidency, “Declaration by the Presidency on Behalf of the European Union on the Situation in Thailand”, 28 September 2006, <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=PESC/06/121&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>.

⁴⁷⁶ Delegation of the European Commission to Thailand, “ASEAN: A Key Partner for Europe”, http://www.deltha.cec.eu.int/en/eu_thailand_sea/asean_bilateral_relations.htm.

⁴⁷⁷ Delegation of the European Commission to Thailand, “Asia-Europe Meeting Process”, http://www.deltha.cec.eu.int/en/news_2004/Asem_Hanoi_overview.htm.

cooperate with the EU in the Pacific Islands Forum process; an annual meeting process which aims to strengthen regional cooperation and integration,⁴⁷⁸ and the EU is also the second largest donor of development aid in the Pacific.⁴⁷⁹

Despite their various political and economic contexts then, for Australia, New Zealand, South Korea and Thailand, the EU is not only a key partner for each country, but more broadly is also an important regional partner for the Asia-Pacific. Positioning the New Zealand television news analysis against that of the three other Asia-Pacific countries will help not to only contextualise the New Zealand findings, but also to establish regional trends and enable a wider understanding of how images of the EU are constructed and represented in television news media outside of its borders.

⁴⁷⁸ Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, “The Pacific Islands Forum and its Secretariat”, <http://www.forumsec.org/pages.cfm/about-us/>.

⁴⁷⁹ Natalia Chaban and Martin Holland, “Introduction: Research Rationale, Theoretical Underpinnings and Methodological Considerations”.

5.2 RESULTS

5.2.1 Volume of Coverage

As has been discussed previously, the overall EU coverage levels in New Zealand were surprisingly low. Table 5.1 presents the total number of EU television news items for each of the four Asia-Pacific countries during 2004.

Table 5.1: Total EU Television News Items in Asia-Pacific Countries

Country	Total EU TV News Items (2004)
Australia	18
New Zealand	29
South Korea	69
Thailand	82

As can be seen, while the EU coverage in New Zealand was limited in 2004, when it is compared with the other three Asia-Pacific countries, the New Zealand total does not appear to be abnormally low. Australian television news audiences were presented with the least amount of EU news of the four countries, with only 18 news items in total across the 12 month monitoring period. The two Asian countries, South Korea and Thailand, by comparison had far higher coverage totals, with 69 and 82 EU television news items respectively. Figure 5.1 shows the distribution of the EU coverage in each country across the two monitored bulletins, and it is interesting to note that in each country there was a clear leader in EU coverage.

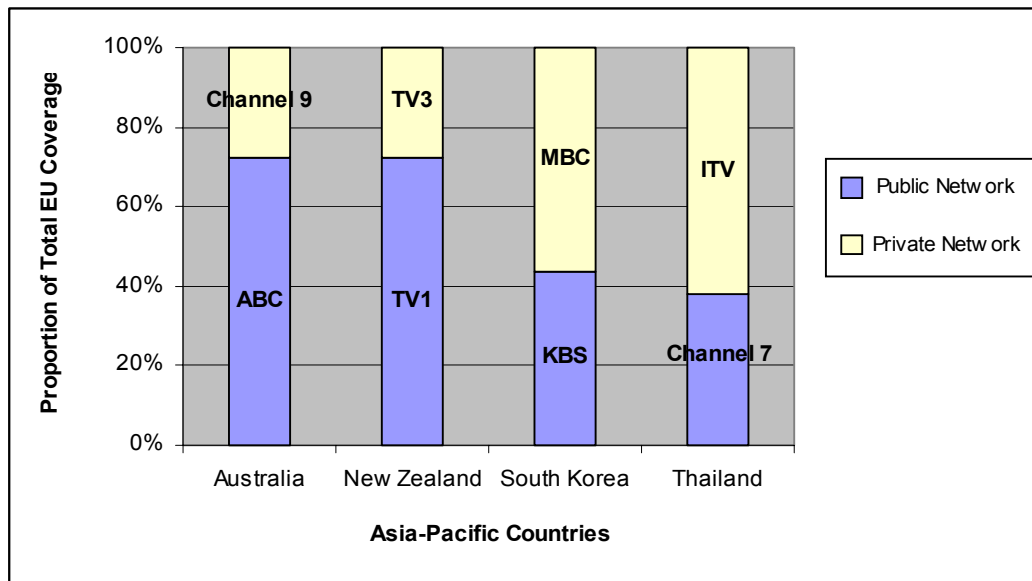


Figure 5.1: Proportion of Asia Pacific EU Coverage by Network

The graph is colour-coded according to the ownership status of each network, whether they were the public or privately owned broadcaster. As is evident, in Australia and New Zealand, the publicly-owned networks, ABC and TV1, were the clear leaders in EU coverage, each screening approximately 70 percent of the total EU news items. In South Korea and Thailand however, this situation was reversed although the distribution between networks was not quite as explicit as in the Australasian case. In the two Asian countries, the two privately-owned networks, MBS and ITV,⁴⁸⁰ each presented close to 60 percent of the total identified EU coverage for 2004, while the state-owned broadcasters accounted for only around 40 percent.

⁴⁸⁰ ITV was established as Thailand's first and only independently-owned television network (all other television networks are owned and operated by the government). However, after a series of financial problems and a change in legislation regarding ownership of the network, a major share in the company was purchased by Shin Corporation, owned by Thaksin Shinawatra, soon-to-be Thai Prime Minister. While Mr. Shinawatra's ownership obviously restricted the independence of the network, at the time of this study, ITV remained the only television station in Thailand to approximate a non state-owned broadcaster. The network is currently owned by Temasek Holdings, the investment arm of the Singaporean government. See: European Federation of Journalists, "Independent TV Station Faces Bankruptcy and Government Takeover", <http://www.ifj-europe.org/default.asp?index=4693&Language=EN>; Kamol Sukin, "Could BBC Model Work for ITV?", *The Nation*, 25 June 2006, http://nationmultimedia.com/2006/06/25/headlines/headlines_30007251.php.

5.2.2 Dynamics of Coverage

Figure 5.2 shows the distribution of the four countries' total EU coverage across the 12 month monitoring period. As can be seen, the three additional countries generally replicated the New Zealand trend of highly irregular EU coverage, with periods of higher peaks and then moments of very low troughs.

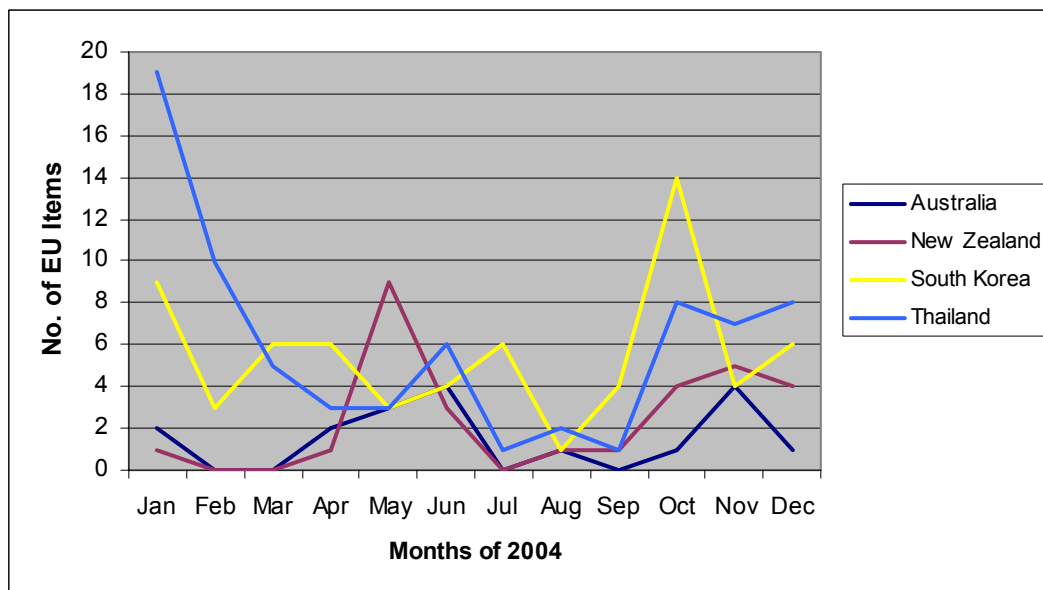


Figure 5.2: Dynamics of EU Coverage – Asia-Pacific Countries

Across the 12 months, January provided the highest individual-country peak, with Thailand's two television news bulletins producing 29 EU news items in that month alone. With the exception of two items, the Thai January coverage was wholly concerned with the outbreak of avian flu in Asia, and in Thailand particularly. The EU featured in this coverage because of its decision to halt its importation of Thai poultry and poultry products into the EU during the epidemic outbreak.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁸¹ European Commission, "Avian Influenza", 3.

Broadly there was a similar trend in the coverage dynamics for all four countries, although the actual levels of coverage varied. In all four countries there was a spike in EU coverage in May, a slump throughout July, August and September, and an increase in coverage again during October and November. Although as discussed in the previous chapter, New Zealand's May coverage included not only enlargement but also a number of more locally-concerned items including the Prime Minister's visit to Europe, in the other three Asia-Pacific countries, the May increase is entirely attributed to the 5th EU enlargement that month. Notably, the New Zealand coverage in May was considerably higher than the other three countries, despite Korea and Thailand's overall coverage far outweighing New Zealand's total.⁴⁸²

All four countries demonstrated particularly low levels of EU news in July, August and September, largely owing to the previously noted fact that these months are traditionally the period of summer vacation in Europe and thus there is much less news flow from the EU during this time. Although the Australian coverage was lower than that in the other three countries, the Australian EU news levels did increase twice during 2004; in June and November. The June increase was connected to two events; the agreement by EU Member States to a new constitutional treaty, and a visit by US President George Bush to Europe to meet with European leaders. In November, Australian television news bulletins highlighted the EU's negotiations with Turkey for EU membership, as well as the EU's negotiations with Iran over its uranium enrichment programme, and finally the Ukrainian presidential election crisis.

South Korean television news coverage of the EU peaked in January and October, with reasonably consistent, but low, coverage levels throughout the remainder of the year. The Korean coverage in January was prompted by a number of events, but the

⁴⁸² Due to a technical problem, Thai television news items during 1-5 May 2004 were missing from the dataset. It is assumed that the actual volume of EU news on the two Thai television news bulletins during this time was higher than is indicated here.

largest of these, similarly to the Thai case, was the coverage given to the avian flu outbreak across Asia, and the EU's response to that. The sharp increase in Korean EU-coverage in October was triggered by two events of primarily local significance. The first was a visit by the South Korean Prime Minister to various European countries, and the second was coverage of the 5th Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) held in Hanoi, Vietnam that month.

Finally, in addition to demonstrating the largest overall peak in January, Thai EU television news coverage also showed periods of higher intensity in June and October, although the coverage from October onwards in Thailand maintained a relatively steady level throughout November and December. The June increase in Thai coverage related to several EU events, including the previously mentioned visit by George Bush to Europe that month, as well as the negotiations with Turkey for EU membership. Similarly to the Korean coverage, the peak in Thai EU news in October was prompted largely by the ASEM summit, and in particular the negotiations between the EU and ASEAN for Myanmar's inclusion therein.

5.2.3 Sources of News

The New Zealand analysis found a clear preference among the New Zealand television news broadcasters to utilise the international wire services for news reports on the EU, and this preference was argued to play an important contributing role in the EU depictions. In light of this, it was interesting to determine whether a similar pattern of sourcing existed in the three other Asia-Pacific countries.

As in the case of the New Zealand analysis, EU news items were coded according to whether they were purchased from the wires, or whether they were created by a local journalist, either stationed at home or abroad. Figure 5.3 shows the results of this analysis across the four countries.

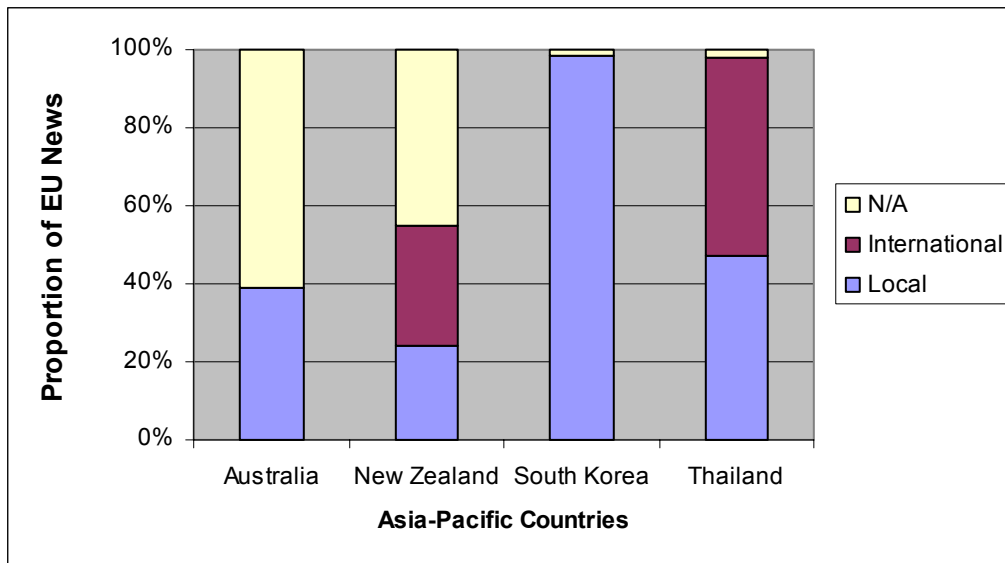


Figure 5.3: Sources of EU Television News Items for Asia-Pacific Countries

It is immediately apparent in Figure 5.3 that the problems that existed in the identification of news sources in New Zealand were also a factor in the Australian analysis, and to a much smaller extent in the Korean and Thai cases. A little over 60 percent of the Australian EU news items were unable to be attributed to either a local author or an international source, and around 2 percent in both the Korean and Thai cases. What was particularly interesting in the Australian case was the general lack of acknowledgement to any international sources, while several of the news items in New Zealand were clearly referenced to their foreign source. Operating on the same assumption as that in Chapter 4, it was assumed that the non-attributed items were in fact purchased from the wires, and as such, the new graph depicts a much clearer sourcing pattern (Figure 5.4).



Figure 5.4: Sources of EU News in Asia-Pacific (Accounting for Unattributed Items)

As Figure 5.4 shows, when the non-attributed items were accounted for, immediate patterns of sourcing become apparent. Australian and Thai television news bulletins both shared the New Zealand trend of a preference for using international wire service reports when reporting on the EU, although in the case of Thailand the division between locally- and internationally-produced reports was less marked than in the two Pacific countries. South Korea, on the other hand, represents a strikingly different case. 98.5 percent of all South Korean EU news was produced by local journalists, either stationed in South Korea, within the EU, or elsewhere in the world.

Because of the high levels of non-attributed items, particularly in the Australian case, the study was unable to account for the specific foreign news wires that were used by each monitored network. What is particularly interesting from this analysis overall however, is that the New Zealand television news bulletins demonstrated the highest reliance on international sources in its reports on EU matters.

5.2.4 Actors

Determining which actors were seen to give a ‘face’ to the EU during 2004 revealed that in the New Zealand case, EU Member State actors were far more prominent than actors representing the common European bodies. Figure 5.5 shows the range of actors that featured across all four countries’ television news reports on the EU.

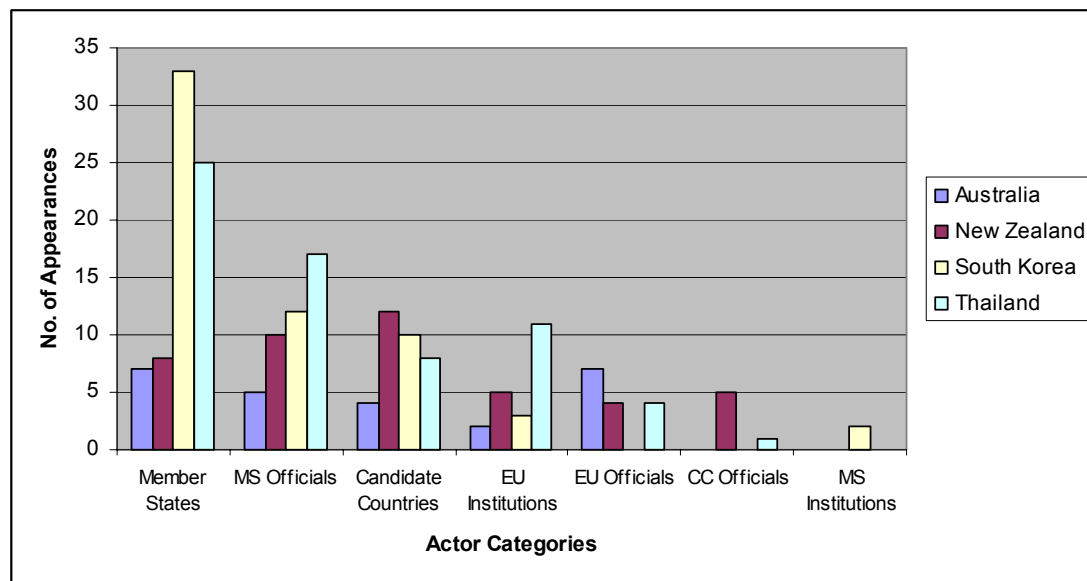


Figure 5.5: EU Actors by Category in Asia-Pacific Television News

As can be seen from the graph, a variety of actor groups were identified across the four countries’ coverage. Overall, across the region and corresponding to the New Zealand analysis presented in Chapter 4, Member State actors were by far the largest type to be referenced in EU news items, and this was particularly the case in the Korean and Thai coverage. Due to their much larger data sets of EU news items, it was unsurprising to find that the two Asian countries had a much higher volume of EU actors than did either New Zealand or Australia. Member State actors – whether the EU-15 countries, their leaders and officials or the EU candidate and accession countries – accounted for the three largest actor-categories. Although its overall volume and variety of EU actors was limited compared to the other three countries, in

the Australian case it was interesting to note that the number of references to EU-15 countries in fact equalled that of references overall to the officials of the EU, a unique finding in the regional comparison.

Breaking these categories down further allows a more detailed analysis of the specific actors representing the EU, to establish whether one or more particular ‘faces’ were preferred by Asia-Pacific newsmakers in representing the European Union. The most prominent category overall was the Member States themselves, and Figure 5.6 shows the specific EU-15 states that featured in the four countries’ EU television news coverage.

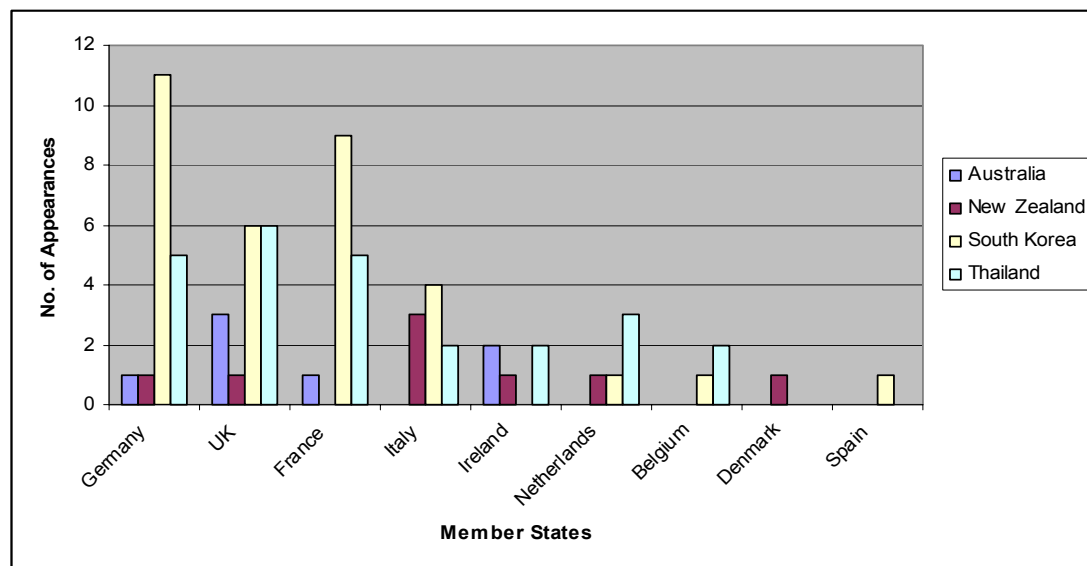


Figure 5.6: EU Actors – Member States

Several trends are immediately apparent. Firstly, the majority of Korean and Thai EU news items prioritised only three Member States of the 15 countries within this category; in particular Germany, the UK and France. These three countries are often referred to as ‘the Big Three’ of the EU, and were clearly the most common actor-associations for Korean and Thai newsmakers when reporting on the EU. The dominance of the Big Three in the two Asian countries’ coverage contrasts with the New Zealand case, which instead featured Italy most prominently. The Australian analysis also revealed some distinctions. While the other three countries’ television

news media featured a range of European countries – both continental and British isles – the Australian newsmakers instead prioritised the two Anglo-Saxon countries in their EU coverage – the UK and Ireland – with only a single reference to the other two members of the Big Three, France and Germany.

Member State officials from the EU-15 comprised the second largest category of EU actors across the four countries' coverage. Figure 5.7 shows the breakdown of the grouping for each country.

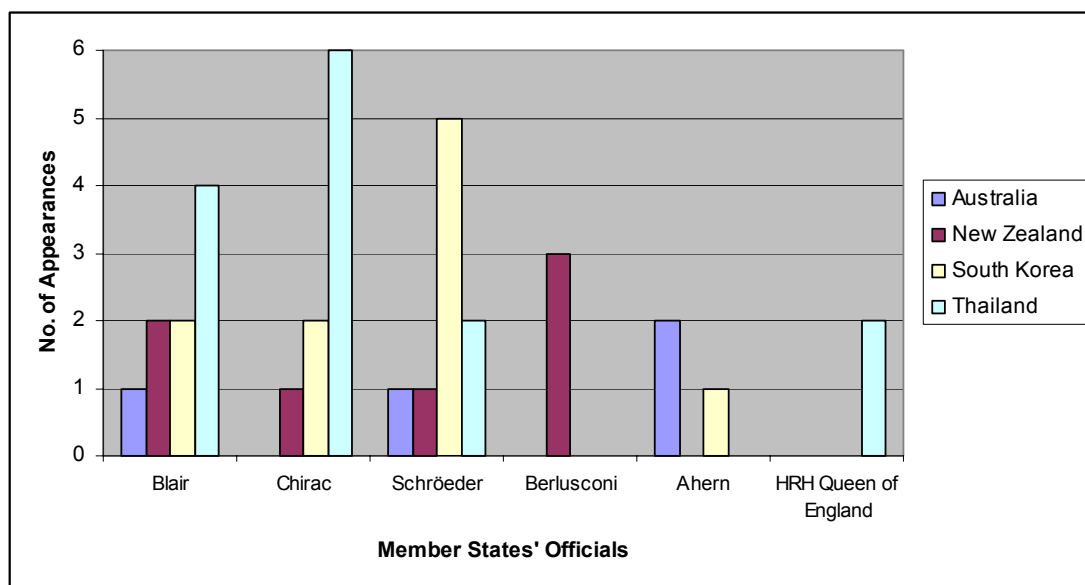


Figure 5.7: EU Actors – Member States' Officials

The dominance of the same three countries was once again evident in the Member States' officials' category. Tony Blair, Jacques Chirac and Gerhard Schröder were the three most visible EU Member States' leaders to appear on Asia-Pacific EU-television news items, although there were subtle differences between the four countries. Thai news reports on the EU prioritised Chirac over his British and German counterparts, while the Korean EU television news items instead featured Schröder more prominently. Rather oddly, perhaps, the Thai EU coverage also twice featured Queen Elizabeth II of England, a royal connection not made by the other three

countries, and one which perhaps is connected to Thailand's intense interest in its own revered monarchy. The New Zealand coverage again differed from its Asia-Pacific counterparts within this category of EU actors, prioritising Silvio Berlusconi ahead of the leaders of the UK, France or Germany. Australian television news items on the EU, corresponding to the coverage of the EU-15 Member States' analysis, featured the leaders of Ireland and the UK.

In addition to the existing Member States, the countries acceding to the Union in 2004 and those who remained candidates were also prominent in the Asia-Pacific television news reports on the EU. Figure 5.8 depicts the specific candidate countries that featured.

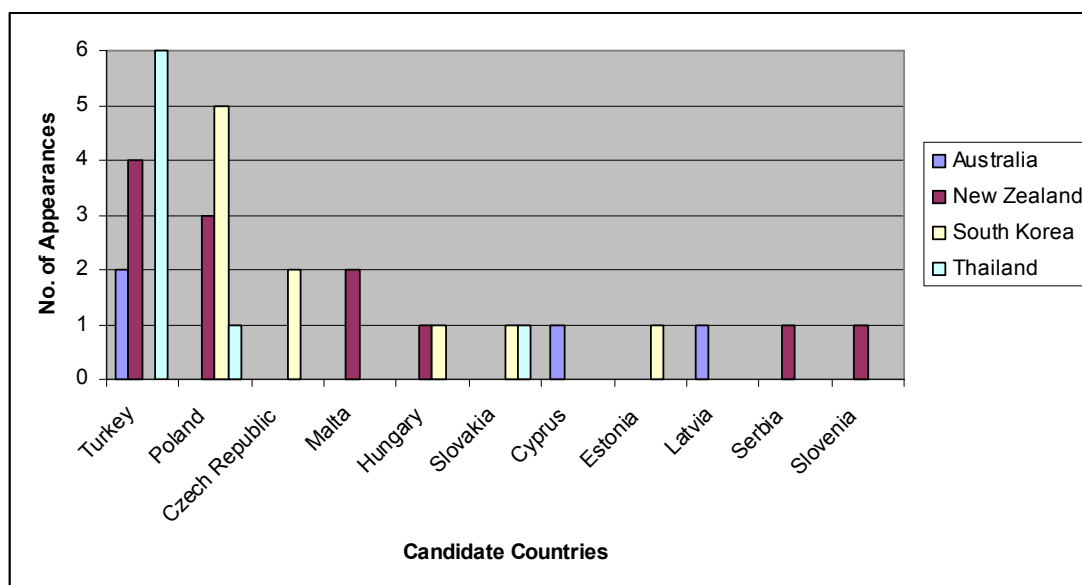


Figure 5.8: EU Actors – Candidate Countries

As was discussed in Chapter 4, New Zealand's EU news items featured candidate countries more than any other EU actor, and in this comparative analysis, New Zealand's coverage was also found to highlight candidate countries more prominently than that of the other three countries. The two candidate countries that were most prominent in New Zealand – Turkey and Poland – were also found to be the most prominent candidates across the Asia-Pacific coverage generally. By not featuring

Turkey at all, Korea was the exception to this, Korean television newsmakers instead preferring to feature Poland and the Czech Republic as representatives of the EU's accession countries. Contrastingly, Turkey was the only candidate country to feature frequently in the Thai television news on the EU, although Poland and Slovakia each also made a single appearance. Finally, the Australian news reports on the EU featured the least candidate country actors, with only a handful of references to Turkey, Cyprus and Latvia.

The institutions of the EU were mentioned in Asia-Pacific EU television news items far less frequently than were the Member States and their associated actors. Figure 5.9 shows the number of references to the individual Community institutions that were identified in each of the four countries.

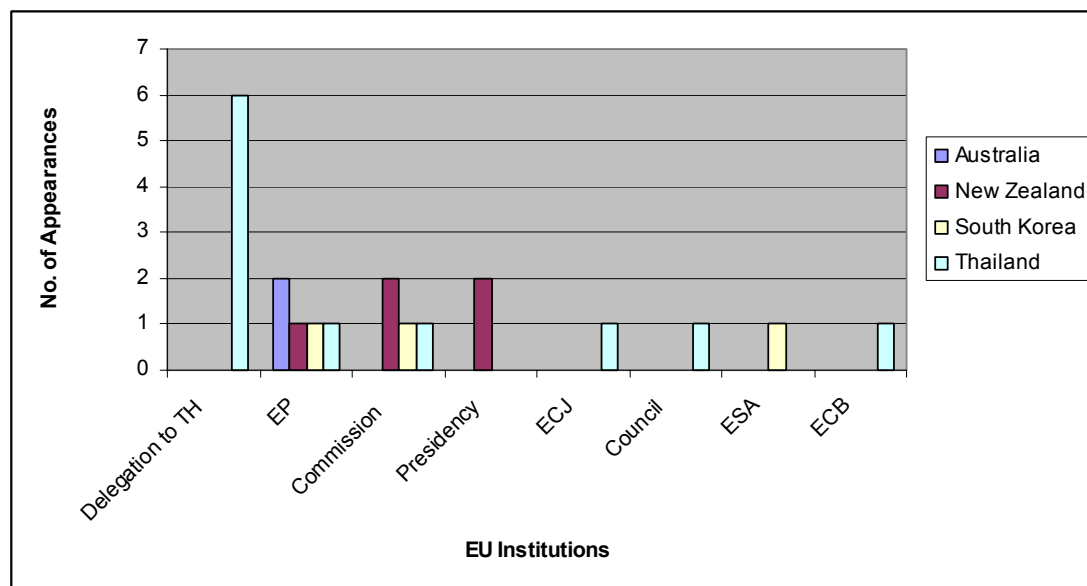


Figure 5.9: EU Actors – EU Institutions

As Chapter 4 discussed, the New Zealand EU coverage was characterised by a relative absence of EU actors and this included references to the large EU institutions. However, as Figure 5.9 shows, when the New Zealand case is positioned against those of the other three Asia-Pacific countries, it is clear that New Zealand's coverage was

not the most deficient in this regard. Although New Zealand's EU television news coverage saw only a few references to the Commission, the Presidency and the EP, the Australian and Korean EU television news reports saw even fewer appearances of EU institutions. The Australian coverage in particular was the lowest and featured only two references to the EP and no other EU institution, while the Korean coverage depicted several EU institutions, including the EP and the Commission but with very infrequent references, and also occasional mentions of other institutions like the European Court of Justice (ECJ), the European Space Agency (ESA), and the European Central Bank (ECB).

The trend of low numbers of appearances by EU institutions on behalf of the Union was not emulated in the Thai coverage. Indeed, the Thai television news coverage on the EU made a greater number of references to EU institutions than it did to the candidate countries. One EU institution in particular accounted for this high number of references in the Thai case – the European Commission's Delegation in Bangkok. In fact, the Commission Delegation to Thailand shared top billing with the UK and Jacques Chirac as a representative of the EU in Thailand. No other EU actor, whether Member State or EU, received more mentions in the Thai EU coverage.

5.2.5 Degree of Centrality

Volume alone was considered insufficient in this study for assessing the prominence of the EU within the monitored television news spheres, so the relevant EU news items were also analysed to determine the degree to which the EU was central to the news item portraying it. As was seen in Chapter 4, New Zealand EU television news were found to primarily feature the Union as the central focus of their reports, with few references to it as a minor reference in an item, and even less as an actor of secondary importance. Figure 5.10 shows the comparative analysis of the degree of centrality across all four Asia-Pacific countries.

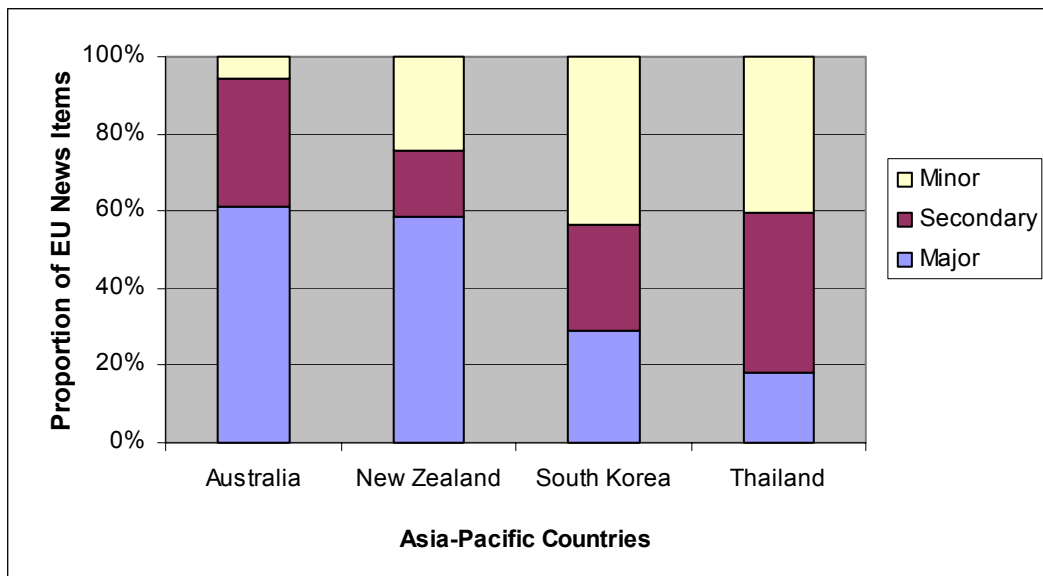


Figure 5.10: Degree of Centrality of EU on Asia-Pacific Television News

The above graph depicts a noticeable split in the coverage style of the two Pacific countries on the one hand, and the two Asian nations on the other. Australia followed the New Zealand trend by most commonly featuring the EU as the major focus of a news item. Although the Australian news items referenced the EU as an actor of secondary importance more often than New Zealand items did, almost 60 percent of both Pacific countries' EU television news items had the EU as their major focus.

The pattern in the Korean and Thai television coverage was not as explicit as that in the two Pacific countries, although a slight preference for featuring the EU as only a brief, fleeting mention in a news item was noted. 40 percent of the Thai EU-coverage, and a little over 40 percent of the Korean presented the EU in this way – as neither the main or secondary focus of a news story, but merely an incidental participant in the event. The Thai coverage presented the EU as of secondary importance after this, followed by a smaller number of major-focused items, while in Korea the split between portrayals of the EU as the major or secondary focus was marginal.

5.2.6 Focus of Domesticity

In light of this split between the two Pacific countries and the two Asian countries, it was interesting to determine whether a similar trend existed in terms of the levels of domesticity in EU television news items also. As the previous chapter demonstrated, very few EU news items in the New Zealand case presented the EU as acting in a manner which directed connected to the domestic New Zealand context. Figure 5.11 shows the Asia-Pacific comparative analysis of this characteristic.

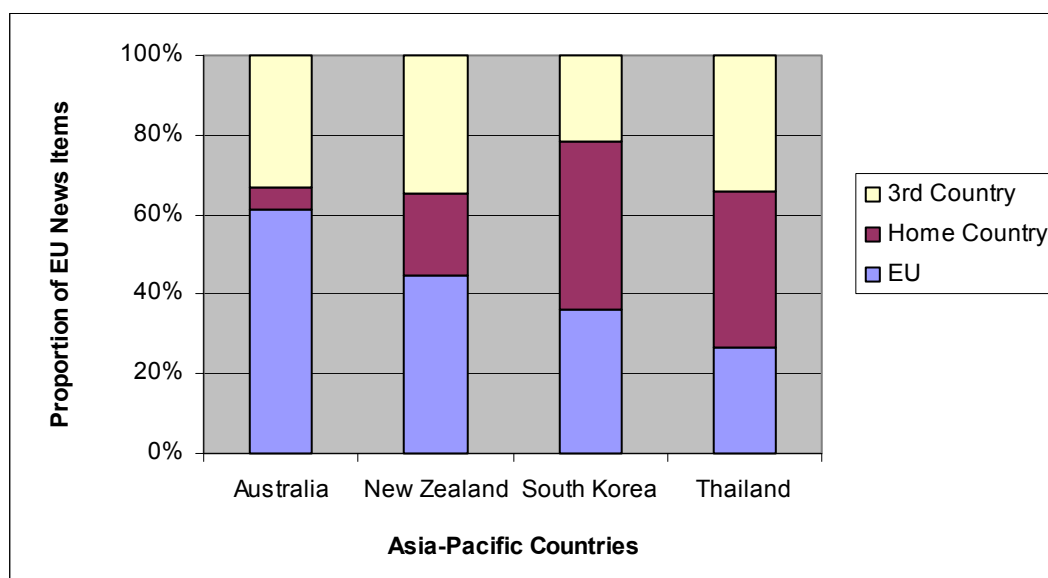


Figure 5.11: Focus of Domesticity of EU on Asia-Pacific Television News

While the split is not quite as distinct as it was in the case of the degree of EU centrality to the news item, Figure 5.11 does show a similarity between the Korean and Thai coverage. The preference of newsmakers in Korea and Thailand when reporting on the EU appeared to be to connect EU activities to the domestic context; approximately 40 percent of EU television news items in both Asian countries were presented in this way. In Korea, the EU acting in a third country was the least common depiction, while in Thailand the EU's internal actions were marginalised.

The Australian coverage presented a very different picture. Like New Zealand, the Australian EU television news items seldom referenced the EU in a manner of direct local interest, however in the Australian case, only a little over 5 percent of all EU news items were presented in this way, making New Zealand's 20 percent seem considerable. A preference was instead evident in both Pacific countries' television news for presenting the EU as involved in matters of EU-concern, with a lesser interest in the actions of the EU outside of its borders.

5.2.7 News Frames

Whether it was seen to be acting inside its borders or outside of them, it was an aim of this project to investigate the specific areas in which the EU was seen to be a prominent actor. Figure 5.12 shows the analysis of the Asia-Pacific EU television news items according to the primary frames of EU activity – whether it was engaged in political action, economic action or social affairs activity.

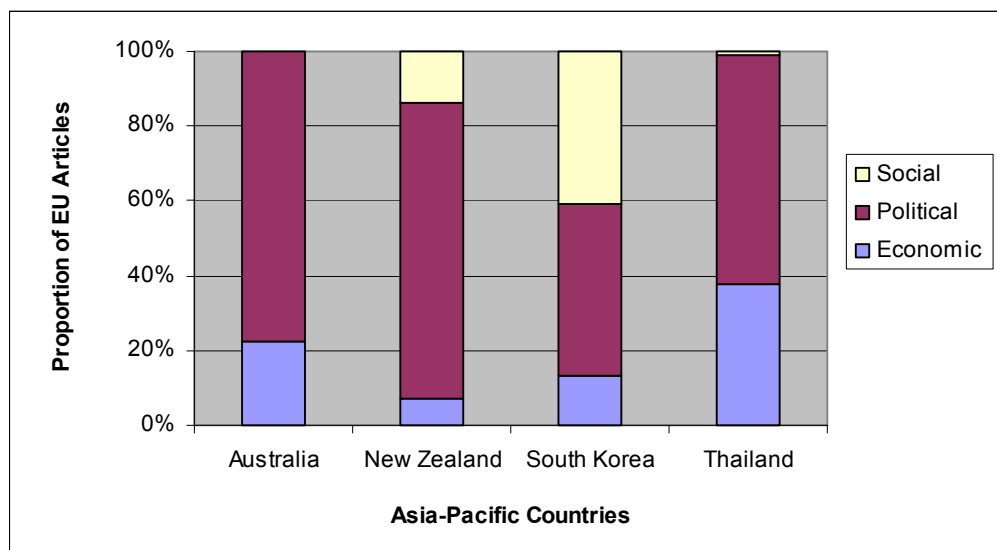


Figure 5.12: Proportion of Primary Frames of the EU on Asia-Pacific Television News

In the New Zealand case, political affairs was overwhelmingly the normal lens through which EU news was viewed in 2004, accounting for almost 80 percent of the total EU coverage. As can be seen in Figure 5.12, this was also largely the case for the

Asia-Pacific analysis. In Australia and Thailand, EU politically-oriented news dominated the 2004 television news coverage, with almost 78 percent and 60 percent respectively. The dominance of EU political affairs news was not as strong in South Korean television news items however the frame was still the leading one with just over 46 percent of the total Korean EU television news coverage. In this framing analysis, the South Korean case proved quite different from the other three Asia-Pacific countries. The coverage of the EU on Korean television news bulletins was framed more frequently from the perspective of EU social affairs news than in the other three countries. In Korea, EU social affairs news accounted for a little over 40 percent of the total, while in Australia, news of this kind was completely absent. In the New Zealand coverage, social affairs accounted for only 13.7 percent of the total, and it formed a mere 1 percent in the Thai case.

In the economically-framed EU news, the New Zealand television news coverage represented one extreme with only a little over 7 percent of the total EU news accounting for this frame. Contrastingly, Thailand's economically-framed EU news comprised close to 38 percent of the Thai total, while Australia and Korea occupied more moderate positions with 22 percent and 13 percent economic EU news respectively. A range of topics within each of these frames were identified, and there were notable differences between the four countries. Table 5.2 shows the range of primary topics that emerged from the politically-framed news in each of the four countries.

Table 5.2: Primary Topics – Political Affairs Frame (No. of Relevant Items)

Primary Topic	New Zealand	Australia	South Korea	Thailand
Enlargement (Political aspects)	11	3	3	7
International Relations	8	8	10	29
Human Rights	3	1	2	2
Terrorism/Security	2	3	2	5
International Conflict Resolution	2			
International Elections	2	2	1	
EU Summit	2		1	1
Home Country-EU Relations	1		10	1
Commission	1			
Historical events' commemorations	1		1	
Media			1	
Domestic political matters			2	1
Environment	2			1
Tsunami				4
EU Constitution	1	3	1	1

While in the New Zealand case, EU enlargement coverage dominated, across the other three countries (and indeed, across the region when taken together), EU international affairs dominated. Within this topic, there were a number of foreign affairs sub-topics that appeared. The EU's relationship with the United States was prominent in Australia, South Korea and Thailand, while Australia, New Zealand and Korea shared a focus on the EU's involvement during the Ukrainian presidential election crisis and the 'Orange Revolution' which followed. Within the topic and in all four countries' coverage, the EU's role in the Middle East was prioritised, however, the specific area of the EU's involvement was generally featured differently. In Australia and Thailand, for example, the EU's negotiations with Iran for the latter to halt its uranium enrichment programme were prominent, while in New Zealand, issues between the EU and Israel were featured. Also within this Middle East sub-topic, the EU's involvement in the reconstruction of Iraq was a topic of interest to the Australian and New Zealand newsmakers, while the issue of the EU and a more generic 'Middle East' grouping was highlighted in Korean and Thai coverage. In the

latter case, the EU was usually presented in the relevant news items in the context of its role in the quartet of actors charged with creating a 'road map' for peace in the Middle East. Additionally, and also within the international relations topic, the issue of Libya and its human rights record was featured in Australian, New Zealand and Thai television news reports on the EU, while both of the Asian countries' television news media devoted significant attention within the international relations topic to the EU's role in the ASEM and ASEAN processes, and particularly with regard to the inclusion of Myanmar in these proceedings.

As is evident from this discussion of areas of EU political action, and from Table 5.2, there are a number of overlaps in the topics. International relations, while the largest topic of political news overall, also featured a number of news items which addressed matters of human rights, terrorism and security, conflict resolution and international elections, each of which was found to be a particular and separate news theme itself. As was found in the New Zealand case, across the Asia-Pacific television news coverage of the EU stories pertaining to the Union were generally found to layer more than one news topic or theme within an item, arguably maximising the limited news space available in a television news bulletin.

In addition to the international relations topic, only three other topics intersected all four countries' political affairs coverage. The political aspects of EU enlargement were unsurprisingly a topic of interest for all four countries' news makers, given the time frame of the data collection. While New Zealand featured the largest volume of news on this topic overall, the sub-themes within it were found to be similar for all four countries. Australian, New Zealand and Thai coverage all featured items relating not only to the 5th enlargement in May 2004, but also to the prospective enlargements of the future, and in particular Turkey's application. The latter was not identified in the Korean coverage which instead focused solely on the 2004 enlargement.

Terrorism featured in the coverage of each country, which was also unsurprising given the priority afforded this topic in the news media since September 11.⁴⁸³ Finally, the process of negotiating a new constitutional treaty for the EU received some, albeit limited, television news coverage in all four countries. The Korean coverage was also found to feature a large volume of EU news on one topic, the attention to which was not shared by the other countries; the theme of EU-home country relations. While the topic did feature once in the New Zealand coverage it was as prominent in the Korean case as was the coverage of EU international affairs.

Table 5.3 presents the catalogue of topics that featured in the economically-framed EU news in each country.

Table 5.3: Primary Topics – Economic Frame (No. of Relevant Items)

Primary Topic	New Zealand	Australia	South Korea	Thailand
Enlargement	1	1	1	
International relations (economic)		1		
WTO	1	1		1
Subsidies/CAP/Reform	1		1	
Competition		1		
Bird Flu		1		27
Industry			3	
Home country-EU				
Trading Relations			2	2
Currency				1

As the above table demonstrates, there was a much smaller range of topics within this category, compared to the previously discussed political one. And indeed, Thailand was the only country to present a large volume of news items on one particular EU economic topic. The outbreak of avian flu in Thailand, and the impact that this epidemic had on Thai-EU trading relations received much greater coverage than any

⁴⁸³ See for example: Thomas Ginsberg, “Rediscovering the World”, *American Journalism Review*, Jan/Feb (2002); Rem Reider, “The Ripples of September 11 and What they Mean for Journalism”, *American Journalism Review*, Jan/Feb (2002).

other economic topic, not only for Thailand, but also more broadly in all four countries.

While only really visible in Korea, the final frame, social affairs, is broken down into topics across the four countries and is displayed in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Primary Topics – Social Affairs Frame (No. of Relevant Items)

Primary Topic	New Zealand	Australia	South Korea	Thailand
Weather			1	
Tourism				1
Entertainment			6	
Tsunami			1	
Terrorism (social ramifications)			1	
Aid (to North Korea)			2	
Food products			2	
Social welfare issues			1	
Agri-disease			4	
Environment	2			
Chemical Usage	2			
WWII Commemorations	1			
Health	1		2	1
Science/Research	1		3	
International relations (social affairs)	1			

Although Australia was the only country not to feature this frame in any of its EU television news items, both New Zealand and Thailand also had a very limited pool of topics within the frame. Korean social affairs coverage on the other hand presented a wide variety of topics and areas of EU social affairs' action. The most prominent of these topics was entertainment related news items, which included coverage of movies, sporting events – or rather, European football matches – and holiday celebrations like Christmas. Perhaps interestingly, given that unlike the other countries in this analysis Korea is not an agricultural-producing nation, the second largest topic within the social affairs frame for Korea was the outbreaks of various agri-diseases, including particularly avian flu, but also bovine spongiform encephalopathy, or mad cow disease, as it is more commonly known. In the Korean

case, coverage of these items did not focus on the economic impacts of the epidemics, but rather the social impacts on the producers and consumers of the agricultural products. News items in both Korea and New Zealand featured the EU involved in science and research, particularly in space research, while both the two Asian countries and New Zealand presented items relating to the EU's health regulations, and especially in terms of legislation on cigarette packet-labelling, designed to deter smokers. Thus, across all three primary frames there was a variety of topics identified, and a range of nation-specific emphases on these topics. In addition to the more national orientations though, there was also a clear dominance across all four countries of the politically-framed topic of EU international affairs.

5.2.8 Evaluations

As this research was primarily concerned with understanding how the EU is represented and perceived in the Asia-Pacific countries, it was important to assess how the EU's actions were evaluated in the television news items portraying it. Figure 5.13 shows the results of the analysis of the EU's evaluations as identified across the whole of each news item.

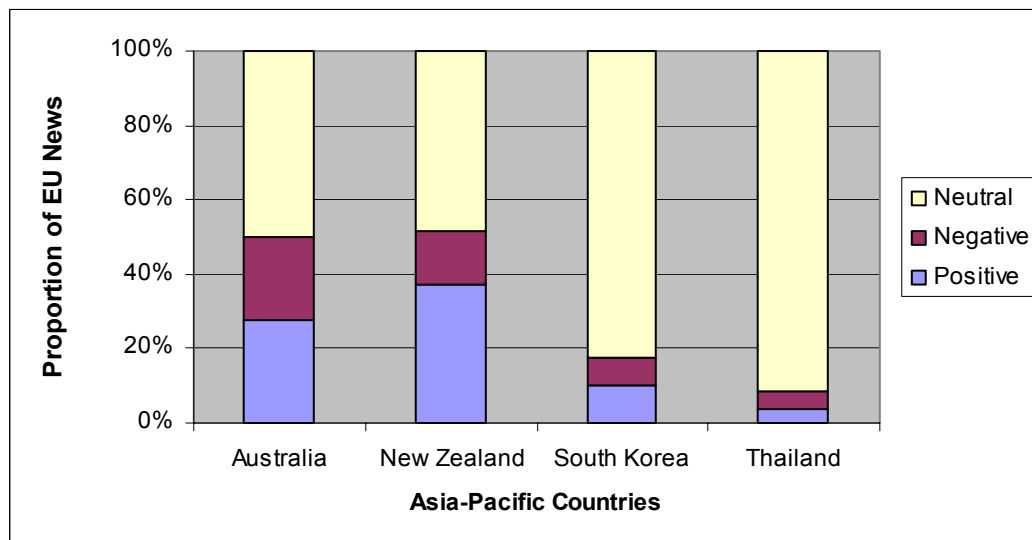


Figure 5.13: Evaluation of the EU on Asia-Pacific Television News

As is evident from Figure 5.13, there was once again clear split between the Pacific and Asian countries in this aspect of the analysis. Both Australia and New Zealand had a much higher proportion of explicitly evaluated news than did either South Korea or Thailand. New Zealand EU news demonstrated the highest overall level of positive evaluations, which accounted for 37 percent of the total news items. Australian television news, on the other hand, displayed a slightly greater tendency to negatively evaluate the EU, with negative evaluations being made in half of all Australian EU news.

Both Korean and Thai EU news reports primarily avoided any explicit evaluation of the EU's actions and activities. This was the case in 83 percent of the Korean television news items concerning the EU, and over 91 percent of Thai EU television news stories. When evaluations were made in the coverage of both Asian countries, the evaluations were marginally more likely to be negative in tone, with a little over 7 percent of all Korean news items and just under 5 percent of all Thai EU news items being negatively evaluated.

5.3 REFLECTIONS ON THE EU'S IMAGE IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC

This comparative investigation was conducted to establish whether the image of the EU that was constructed in the television news bulletins of New Zealand was one that was unique to the Pacific nation, or if indeed such an EU image was common to other countries located outside of the Union. It was anticipated that, despite the vast differences in the political, economic and cultural contexts of each of the four countries, because the EU is such an important partner for each of them, that there would be similarities in the framings of the EU within each country's television news media. Intriguingly, in many aspects of the analysis it was found that there was a distinct affinity in the EU's representations between the two Pacific countries, and between the two Asian countries.

The first example of this Pacific/Asian division was found in the results of the volume of EU news. The presence of an external deficit of EU communication in the New Zealand television news bulletins was a trend that was replicated in the Australian case, with the television news bulletins in both Pacific countries presenting a very low volume of EU news; indeed, surprisingly, the Australian coverage total was even lower than the sample identified in New Zealand. In contrast, it was found that the EU was afforded much greater priority by television newsmakers in the two Asian countries who both presented a comparatively high volume of EU news items, with Thailand presenting the largest total.

Yet, while the volumes between the Pacific and Asian cases were very different, when the coverage was assessed across the 12 month period, it was found that the New Zealand trend of a sporadic and spiking overall level of coverage was also identified in all three of the other Asia-Pacific countries. In each country's case it was found that the coverage of the EU would increase in response to particularly prominent and often dramatic events. In New Zealand and Australia, the major spikes were found to usually connect with prominent EU or international events, such as the enlargement for New Zealand and the constitutional treaty negotiations for Australia, as well as a variety of international events in the later months of the year for both Pacific countries, including negotiations with the EU and Turkey for membership, and the EU's involvement in the Middle East and Ukraine. Though still prompted by particular events, the increases in the South Korean and Thai EU coverage were found to be connected to events with particular local or regional interest. In the Korean case this included visits by the South Korean leader to Europe, and in both the Korean and Thai cases it also included extensive coverage of the 5th ASEM meeting in November, and the outbreak of avian flu across Asia earlier in the year.

The dynamics of coverage indicate a trend of prioritising EU coverage in response to local events in South Korea and Thailand, while a preference for more internationally-

focused items was evident in Australia and New Zealand. A second example of this trend of representing the EU in the Pacific and Asian pairs was found in the analysis of the centrality of the EU to the news item and the focus of domesticity. In the Australian and New Zealand coverage, when the EU was visible on prime-time television news bulletins, it was most often presented as the major focus of a news item, and from an EU or 3rd country perspective where the events were seen to be of primary concern for the EU and its Member States or for another country outside the Union, but seldom of direct concern to Australia or New Zealand. In South Korea and Thailand on the other hand, the EU as the major focus of a news item was far less likely. Instead, in the television news bulletins of the two Asian countries, the EU was more often featured as an actor of secondary importance, or just a peripheral actor mentioned only incidentally in reference to the main focus of that news item, and depicted in items that were primarily focused on local matters.

Thus, despite the extensive economic, political and historical connections between the two countries of the Pacific and the EU, in the Australian and New Zealand television news bulletins, the EU was repeatedly and consistently portrayed as an actor of very little local concern, while it was contrastingly depicted as a highly engaged actor in the two Asian countries.

The separation of results between the Pacific and Asian sub-regions was less apparent in other aspects of this analysis and instead greater similarities were noted across all four countries. As in the New Zealand case, television news bulletins in the other three countries were found to most frequently portray the EU in a political capacity, with much less emphasis on its roles as an economic or social affairs actor. The South Korean example was the major exception to this rule, featuring the EU as a social affairs actor almost as often as the EU's political role. Within the political affairs frame, further similarities across all four countries were apparent. The EU was most often identified in politically framed news items in an international political affairs capacity, and additionally, political aspects of the 2004 EU enlargement were featured

in all four countries, as were issues of terrorism and global security and human rights. The South Korean and Thai political EU coverage, however, also included a significant proportion which depicted the EU engaging in various region activities, notably an interaction with ASEAN and in the ASEM process. Contrastingly, there was no coverage identified in either Australia or New Zealand of the EU's involvement in the Pacific Forum of that year, or indeed with development in the Pacific region generally. With the exception of the enlargement, the only EU internal political topic to warrant coverage in all four countries was the agreement on a draft constitutional treaty by EU Member States. Arguably, the image that is constructed of the EU by this particular framing is a relatively powerful one of strength and competency; the EU was seen to play a role in many areas of global priority, thus taking a leading role on the world stage.

The South Korean case proved unique across the four countries, for the prominence it gave to EU social affairs. Australian EU news coverage did not feature this aspect of EU action, and it was certainly marginalised in the New Zealand and Thai coverage. South Korean television networks however, commonly featured items exploring the EU's involvement in various social welfare arrangements and development and humanitarian assistance, as well as science and technology research and EU standards in food and cigarette labelling. Entertainment stories regarding movies and football though, were the most common depiction within this category. While this particular framing by the South Korean television news bulletins may appear trivial, particularly compared to the serious subject matter of many of the politically framed news items, it could be argued that this social affairs focus in fact presents the EU in a more humanistic manner, making it an eminently likeable entity that can not only provide light relief through its involvement in the celebrity-laden worlds of football and cinema, but who also provides assistance to the disadvantaged and is a dynamic and progressive actor in areas of science and technology. Indeed, the EU itself appears to be making efforts to 'sell' just such an image of itself more widely. Initiatives like

EUtube,⁴⁸⁴ recently established by the European Commission on the popular YouTube website, are intended to “shar[e] the sights and sounds of Europe”⁴⁸⁵ with the rest of the world. EUtube features video clips highlighting the EU’s involvement in research and technology, particularly with regard to issues like climate change, and have also highlighted “...the EU’s rich cinematic heritage”.⁴⁸⁶ The findings of this research indicate that this softer side of the EU is one which resonates with Korean newsmakers.

The New Zealand trend of very low levels of EU economically-framed news was broadly replicated in the wider Asia-Pacific analysis. While the New Zealand case was the most extreme in this regard, economic portrayals of the EU were also relatively absent in both Australia and South Korea, although the Thai coverage of EU economic news was comparatively higher. Almost all of the Thai economically framed EU news items however were connected to coverage of one event; the outbreak of avian flu in Thailand and the EU’s reaction of halting Thai poultry exports to the Union. Rather intriguing within this frame was the near total absence of any news item addressing the economic impact of the enlargement in 2004, particularly on trading relations between the four countries and the EU.

It is possible that the enlargement was not considered to impact in any way on the economies of the four Asia-Pacific countries and that this is the reason for the low economic coverage in general and the almost total absence of economically-framed enlargement coverage specifically, but it seems more likely that the dominance of EU political news and the corresponding absence of economic news is a result of the nature of economic news. The political news that was featured in the EU television news items was concerned with often highly dramatic and prominent international

⁴⁸⁴ See: European Commission, “EUTube”, *YouTube*, <http://www.youtube.com/user/eutube>.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁶ Stephen Mulvey, “Sexy Clip Lifts EU YouTube Debut”, *BBC News*, citing European Commission spokesperson Martin Selmayr, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6263430.stm>.

events which make for exciting television. Alternatively, investigating the possible impacts of EU enlargement on Australia's beef exports to the EU not only requires sufficient resources to enable news staff to thoroughly investigate such effects, but is also a difficult topic to portray visually, a very important aspect of television news.

In addition to a shared prominence of politically-framed news, the analysis of the actors seen to represent the EU was another area in which the four countries' EU coverage was broadly similar. Overwhelmingly, the actors seen to represent the EU in its actions at home and abroad were Member State actors who were featured far more consistently and prominently than their EU-level counterparts. In particular, the UK, France and Germany and their leaders were highly visible, although New Zealand also featured Italy and Mr. Berlusconi. When reporting on EU political affairs then, this analysis indicates that newsmakers in the four Asia-Pacific countries are more interested in the opinions and actions of the United Kingdom or Jacques Chirac than they are in those of the European Commission or Javier Solana. This is a significant finding, particularly in respect to the politically-framed news which dominated the Asia-Pacific television news coverage of the EU. The greater frequency of Member States and their leaders instead of EU actors indicates a fragmentation of the EU image in the political sphere. The constant portrayal of Member States actors promotes an overall political image of the EU in the Asia-Pacific which is considerably shapeless and vague. Though it was most frequently depicted as acting in the global political sphere, thus arguably constructing an image of the EU as a strong, decisive political actor, by featuring the many different components of the EU instead of its Union representatives, the Asia-Pacific television news media appear to be promoting a contradictory image which indicates fragmentation instead of cohesion. While this depiction may simply be a reflection of the reality of the EU's external political policy – an area dominated by its intergovernmental decision-making processes – it also arguably results in the somewhat confusing portrayal of the EU as a significant, but not wholly comprehensible global political actor.

Only one particular EU actor was highly visible, and this warrants further discussion. The European Commission's Delegation in Bangkok was one of the most referenced EU actors in the Thai television news coverage of the EU, arguably making it a very strong voice for the EU in Thailand. What is particularly interesting about this finding is that all four countries in this comparative analysis have European Commission Delegations stationed in their capitals (although in New Zealand there is only a *Chargé d'Affairs* connected to the larger Delegation to Australia and New Zealand based in Canberra). While the Bangkok-based Delegation was particularly visible, none of these other Delegations were mentioned even once through out 2004. Given that these Delegations are charged with being, "...not only the eyes and ears of the Commission [as it plays its key role in the implementation of the EU's foreign and other policies] but also its mouthpiece vis-à-vis the authorities and the general population",⁴⁸⁷ this finding arguably indicates that the Bangkok Delegation is significantly more successful in fulfilling this task than are its counterparts in Australia, New Zealand and South Korea.

In accounting for the various similarities and differences between the four countries' framings of the EU, and also between two sub-regions – Pacific and Asia – the patterns in the sourcing of the EU news offer some insights. As was found above, New Zealand and Australian television news on the EU was primarily produced using foreign-sourced material. In Australia, the use of the foreign wires for presenting news on the EU was overwhelmingly the norm, and it was the dominant pattern in New Zealand also. While the Thai television news on the EU was found to utilise foreign wires occasionally, more often in the Thai case local reporters produced the items, and in the South Korean sample, almost all of the EU news items were produced locally.

⁴⁸⁷ European Commission, "Unified External Service of the European Commission", http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/delegations/intro/index.htm.

This finding in the two Asian cases, and particularly the South Korean, demonstrates a remarkable level of resourcing of television news networks in the two countries, particularly compared to those in the two Pacific countries. None of the four monitored networks in Australia or New Zealand had continental Europe-based correspondents, although the ABC in Australia and TV1 in New Zealand did both have London-based bureaus referred to as their ‘European’ correspondents. In fact, immediately prior to the beginning of this project, the ABC had closed its Brussels-based bureau, primarily because of the costs of maintaining such a resource. This lack of staff ‘on the ground’ in the EU arguably indicates the lack of priority overall that Australian and New Zealand newsmakers appear to afford EU news. Additionally, the preference for local sources in South Korea and Thailand also provides an explanation for the much higher levels of domestically focused EU news in those two countries. As the previous chapter discussed, a consistent dependence on the foreign wire services may have a very real impact on the content of news items, because of the need of those wires to produce material that can sell globally. This analysis shows evidence of a homogenisation of foreign sourced material, as the New Zealand and Australia television news bulletins most often presented EU news items that could arguably have been screened in any country in the world. There was little or no domestic connection made, and the EU was seen as an important, but largely irrelevant international actor. Contrastingly, where local sources were used more frequently – namely in Korea and Thailand – news items relating to the EU were not only more frequently presented, but were also found to be far more directly related to a matter of domestic or regional importance. In these cases, the EU was not only seen as an important actor, it was also an actor engaged in key dialogue with the home country.

5.4 CONCLUSION

At the heart of this study is the idea that the news media, and in particular the television news media play a key role in informing international publics on news and events that are happening outside of their immediate context. By investigating how the image of the EU is constructed and disseminated in the television news discourses of its external counterparts, the study offers a unique insight into understandings and perceptions of the EU which may contribute to the ongoing legitimacy and identity debates within the Union.

In particular, this chapter has investigated the image of the EU that exists in the television news media of New Zealand as well as three additional Asia-Pacific countries, in order to establish regional trends and to contextualise the New Zealand findings more broadly. The comparative analysis has found that many aspects of the New Zealand EU television news framing were common across the Asia-Pacific region more broadly. Similarly to the individual New Zealand analysis, the EU was most prominently portrayed in Australian, South Korean and Thai television news bulletins as a political actor, and particularly as an actor involved in external political affairs, and very few images of the EU's ongoing internal political integration processes were identified. Equally, Member State actors were consistently prioritised over the European Community ones in all four Asia-Pacific countries. The effects of these two findings are contradictory. While on the one hand the EU is depicted as a strong and engaged international political actor, on the other hand the strength of this image is contrasted by depictions of the EU as a highly fragmented actor whose individual components are seen as more important than the whole they create. That this fragmented image was found in all four of the countries in this analysis is arguably problematic for the Union, as it indicates that despite its efforts at maintaining a more cohesive image abroad – as seen in the appointment of a High Representative for CFSP, for example – in fact its external interlocutors continue to find greater comfort in the Member States and their leaders. It may become

increasingly difficult for the EU to assert itself as a global force if such images of disunity continue to dominate the Union's representations abroad and cause confusion for its international partners.

Although the emphasis on EU political affairs featuring primarily Member State actors was common across the four countries, in a number of areas the New Zealand television news portrayal of the EU was shared by only its closest neighbour, Australia, and the two Asian countries shared an alternative depiction. This Pacific/Asian split was identified most importantly in the extent to which the EU was portrayed as a foreign counterpart that is engaged and involved in each country's domestic context. This engagement was largely absent from the New Zealand and Australian samples, indicating that the EU is not considered a significant 'other' of these two nations, a trend which is not in keeping with the reality of the relationships.

These findings are significant particularly for the two Pacific countries. Importantly, while the EU is a vital economic partner for Australia and New Zealand, this importance is asymmetric⁴⁸⁸; the two Pacific nations might be big players in their own region, but for the EU they constitute only a very small proportion of its overall trade. It is more important for these two Pacific countries to make efforts to strengthen their dialogue with the EU than it is for the EU to make similar efforts. Arguably, by consistently rendering an image of the EU that is distant and disconnected from the local contexts, the EU thus becomes an actor that is easily forgotten, both by newsmakers, and by the local news audiences who rely on television news bulletins for information on foreign events. The continuation of such trends may prove disadvantageous for the Pacific countries as valuable opportunities may be overlooked in future prospects for cooperation.

⁴⁸⁸ Philomena Murray, "Problems of Summity and Symmetry in the EU-Australia Relationship", in *Europe and the Asia Pacific: Culture, Identity and Representations of Region*, edited by Stephanie Lawson, (London: Curzon Routledge, 2003).

CHAPTER 6

WATCHING IT GROW:

TELEVISION NEWS PORTRAYALS OF EU ENLARGEMENT IN

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

“The enlargement on 1 May 2004 to the EU of 10 new Member States...represents the fulfilment of a dream for millions of Europeans who have strived to bring down the remnants of the ‘Iron Curtain’...Understandably, enlargement has raised some challenging issues [and] has made it imperative to define a new Constitution for the EU and an adaptation of its decision-making processes. This will certainly be of interest to many”.

H. E. Piergiorgio Mazzocchi,
Ambassador, Delegation of the European Commission to Australia and New
Zealand⁴⁸⁹

6.1. INTRODUCTION

The analysis of the previous chapter revealed a striking similarity in the framing of the EU in New Zealand and Australian television news bulletins through out 2004. Both countries featured very low overall levels of EU coverage, and when it was featured, the coverage focused largely on political EU news, with an emphasis on the Union’s external political actions conducted by its Member State actors. Additionally, the coverage of the EU in both countries was found to have been produced primarily by international news services, and then re-produced in the local news bulletins. The extent of these similarities indicates scope for further investigation into both countries’ EU television news framings. This chapter investigates the deeper content

⁴⁸⁹ Piergiorgio Mazzocchi, “Preface”, *Annual Review*, National Centre for Research on Europe, (2003), 6.

features of EU news items in Australia and New Zealand, with particular attention to the conceptual metaphors and the visual imagery that was employed in the depicting the EU. In comparing the two countries, the chapter aims to reveal whether the similarities in the two countries' EU framings extended beyond the surface features of the text, or whether subtle differences lay beneath the overall EU image. In particular, this chapter investigates the coverage of the only subject of EU internal political concern to receive significant television news attention in both Australia and New Zealand: EU enlargement. This chapter first contextualises the enlargement in both of the two countries, and then examines the specific framings of enlargement on the television news bulletins. In particular, attention is given to the metaphors describing the enlargement that were identified in the news texts, and also to the visual imagery employed to depict the subject. Finally, the chapter brings the different aspects of the analysis together and discusses the implications and meanings of the various enlargement images.

6.2. PACIFIC PERSPECTIVES OF EU ENLARGEMENT:

OFFICIAL AND PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

The 2004 EU enlargement was the biggest in the EU's over 50 year history, in terms of the number of countries that acceded, the amount of territory the EU gained, and the number of people who over-night became citizens of the Union. It was a significant event politically and economically, and had impacts not only for the EU itself, but also for its partners abroad.

As a foreign partner, the EU is at once rewarding and challenging. As the largest single market in the world, the EU offers opportunities to its partners that arguably can not be achieved in other trading relations, but the constant evolution and transformation that the European integration project entails also makes the process of

staying fully informed about the Union increasingly complicated for its international partners. The 2004 enlargement represented one such challenge.

The fifth expansion of the EU was approached similarly in Australia and New Zealand. In Australia, the EU's transformation was greeted rather cautiously. While previously speculating on how Europe's "ambitious agenda... [would] impinge upon Australia's interests" and suggesting that Australia must be "an alert and active" partner with the EU in order to effectively deal with these intrusions⁴⁹⁰, the official stance of the Australian government was to support the 2004 enlargement.⁴⁹¹ The swift transformations of eight of the ten new Member States from communism to democracy and market-economies was applauded, as the enlargement itself was said to "symbolis[e] the healing of Cold War rifts across Europe and sends a strong message about Europe's resolve to create lasting stability and prosperity for its citizens".⁴⁹² While it was hoped that Australia and a new "strong and united Europe"⁴⁹³ would be able to cooperate together on tackling problems of mutual interest, like terrorism and security, the practicalities of the ongoing relationship between the EU and Australia, including, "trade, education and science and technology, transport, environment, development cooperation, and migration and asylum issues",⁴⁹⁴ were the primary priority of the Australian government.

In a survey of Australian elites conducted as part of the APP project, Australian business elites were asked about their perceptions of the 2004 enlargement and the possible future enlargements. The position of Australian business leaders towards the

⁴⁹⁰ Alexander Downer, "EU Enlargement: Meeting the Challenges of the Global Security and Trade Environment", Speech at the *National Europe Centre Conference on EU Enlargement*, Canberra, April 16, 2003, www.foreignminister.gov.au/speeches/2003/030416_eu.html.

⁴⁹¹ Alexander Downer, "Australia Welcomes EU enlargement", Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade *Press Release*, May 1, 2004, www.foreignminister.gov.au/releases/2004/fa061_04.html.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

enlargements was relatively indifferent,⁴⁹⁵ with most seeing few consequences – either negative or positive – for Australia. When effects were considered possible among the Australian business community, the enlargement was seen likely to have a detrimental impact on Australia’s existing bilateral relations with the various accession candidates.⁴⁹⁶

In New Zealand, the enlargement was also greeted with careful optimism; New Zealand Prime Minister Helen Clark noted the likely opportunities and challenges of the upcoming event in her 2002 Europa Lecture.⁴⁹⁷ Although the EU was considered by the New Zealand government to be a “very natural partner”⁴⁹⁸ of New Zealand, the enlargement was predicted to have important consequences for New Zealand’s relations with the European Union.⁴⁹⁹ One of the main concerns was “the proposed effects of the Schengen Agreement”⁵⁰⁰ which would come into force post-enlargement and were considered to be detrimental to the traditional New Zealand Overseas Experience (OE). Additionally, “the risk that the EU would be heavily preoccupied with internal concerns, and that it would be harder to make New Zealand’s voice heard”,⁵⁰¹ was noted by the New Zealand government to be a possible consequence of the 2004 enlargement. In a proactive effort at meeting this challenge, New Zealand worked hard to create new links with the new Member States,⁵⁰² including the opening of a New Zealand Embassy in Warsaw, responsible for New Zealand’s relations with Poland and the three Baltic accession nations of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. While former External Relations Commission Chris Patten

⁴⁹⁵ Martin Holland *et al.*, “The EU in the Views of Asia-Pacific Elites”, 11.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁷ Helen Clark, “New Zealand’s Relationship with Europe”.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁴⁹⁹ Phil Goff, “New Zealand and the EU, A Year after Enlargement”, in *The Europa Lectures 2001-2006*, edited by Martin Holland.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁵⁰² Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, “Goff Welcomes Enlargement of EU”, May 1, 2004, <http://www.beehive.govt.nz/ViewDocument.aspx?DocumentID=19621>.

argued that there was little risk of the EU turning “inwards” post-enlargement, claiming that the EU “does not want and cannot afford to stand apart from the outside world”⁵⁰³, he agreed with Ms Clark’s sentiments that New Zealand must remain aware of the importance of the EU relationship and the opportunities it offers.⁵⁰⁴ Thus, the New Zealand government’s position in May 2004 was one of confidence in the stimulation of new trade and investment links between New Zealand and the new Member States of the EU; EU members states – both new and old – were considered to operate from within a system with which New Zealand is very familiar,⁵⁰⁵ and thus despite its possible challenges, enlargement was largely viewed as a positive event by the political leaders of New Zealand.

New Zealand’s business elites agreed with this political stance regarding the likely effects of the enlargement on New Zealand-EU relations. The 2004 event was broadly greeted by the New Zealand’s business leaders optimistically. In the same survey discussed for the Australian business elites above, New Zealand’s business elites were asked what effects – either in opportunities or risks – they considered to be likely from the 2004 and future EU enlargements. Enlargement was considered to possibly have an impact for New Zealand in either of two areas – politically and economically and in both, business elites considered the enlargement effects to be largely positive, and a greater number of opportunities were presumed to occur, than risks were likely to eventuate.⁵⁰⁶ While concerns were raised about the restrictions on trade with the EU, it was broadly anticipated that the introduction of the ten new Member States would prompt the necessary dismantling of many of the CAP related restrictions on trade, and the corresponding increase in the wealth of the new Member States would provide a number of opportunities for market expansion for New Zealand

⁵⁰³ Chris Patten, “European Union-New Zealand Relations After Enlargement”, in *The Europa Lectures 2001-2006*, edited by Martin Holland, 49.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁵⁰⁵ Helen Clark, “Address at State Luncheon in Poland, April 21 2004, <http://www.beehive.govt.nz/ViewDocument.aspx?DocumentID=22797>, (accessed May 12, 2006).

⁵⁰⁶ Martin Holland *et al.*, “EU in the Views of Asia-Pacific Elites”, 11.

businesses.⁵⁰⁷ Politically, enlargement was considered by New Zealand business leaders as a positive both for the European continent and also the wider international community: as the EU's strength grew, its position as a global counterweight to the United States was also considered likely to grow.⁵⁰⁸

If the enlargement was welcomed at least guardedly by Australian and New Zealand elites, the public of the two countries seemed largely unaware (and perhaps unconcerned) about the impending event. In national surveys assessing the perceptions of the Asia-Pacific public towards various aspects of the EU and its partnership and importance for Australia and New Zealand, it was found that the largest and most significant EU enlargement to date was viewed with an apparent indifference by the citizens of both countries. When presented with a list of issues concerning the EU-New Zealand relationship and asked to rate the likely impact of those issues, the public of New Zealand rated the inclusion of ten new Central and Eastern European Member States in the EU with a score of only 6.15 (on a scale from 1-10 where 1 is no impact at all and 10 is a significant impact).⁵⁰⁹ Australian respondents, answering the same question regarding the impact of the event on their country's relations with Australia rated it slightly lower, with only 5.9 out of 10.⁵¹⁰ Hypothetically, since television news remains the main source of international political information for the general public in Australia and New Zealand, this relatively low public awareness of EU enlargement may be connected to the particular profiling of the Union's expansion on the national television news bulletins in both countries.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁹ Natalia Chaban and Martin Holland, "The EU through the Eyes of the Asia-Pacific", 35-36.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*

6.3. FORMAL FEATURES OF THE IMAGE OF ENLARGEMENT

6.3.1 Volume and Dynamics

The topic of the EU's enlargement was afforded relative significance in the generally low New Zealand and Australian television news coverage of the EU. 31 percent of the total EU television news coverage in New Zealand (12 items/29) and almost 28 percent in Australia (5 items/18) during 2004 featured the enlargement. Additionally, this coverage was not restricted to the month of the 5th enlargement. Instead, as Figure 6.1 depicts, coverage of the topic was also seen later in the year.

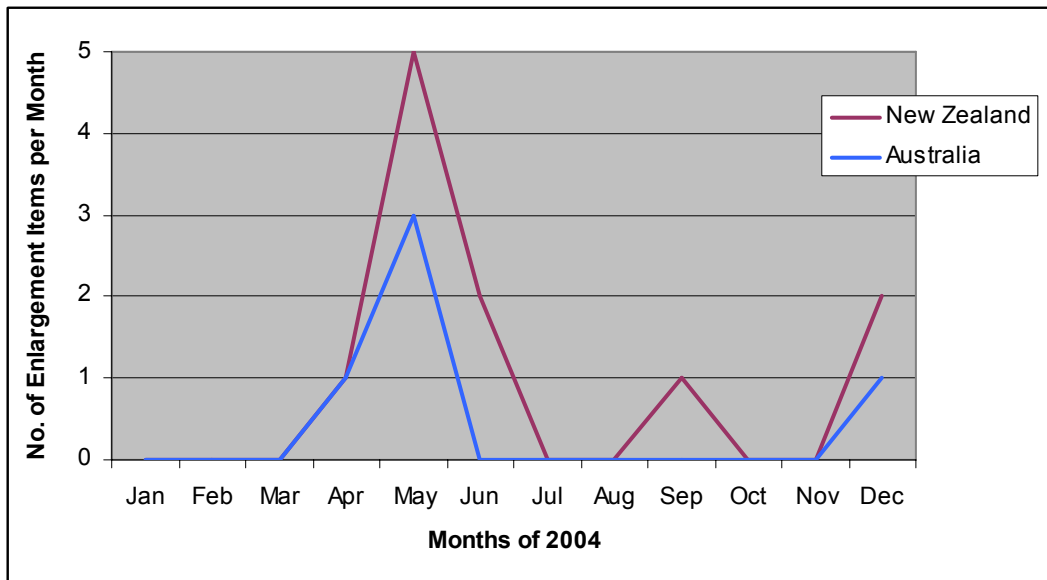


Figure 6.1: Dynamics of EU Enlargement Coverage in New Zealand and Australia

Allowing for the higher volume of news in New Zealand, both countries were found to display broadly similar patterns of EU enlargement coverage during the year. Unsurprisingly, the major peak in enlargement coverage in both countries was seen in May, and prior to the May 1st event, only a single item in both Australia and New Zealand was identified. After May, there was an anticipated decrease in coverage in

June, but the subject reappeared later in September in New Zealand, and in both countries in December. The enlargement coverage during the latter months of 2004 was related to the prospect of Turkey's accession to the Union, and developments in those months were seen to strengthen Turkey's hopes of membership.

6.3.2. Focus of Domesticity and Centrality of EU

Assessing how central the EU and its enlargement were within the relevant news items was key component of this research, as was the level of connection of the EU and the enlargement to the domestic context. As such, the analysis of the EU enlargement news items analysed whether a news item was primarily EU, New Zealand or third country in focus, and also, whether the EU itself was the major, secondary or minor concern of the news item. Figure 6.2 shows the analysis of the degree of centrality for EU enlargement coverage, and Figure 6.3 shows the focus of domesticity.

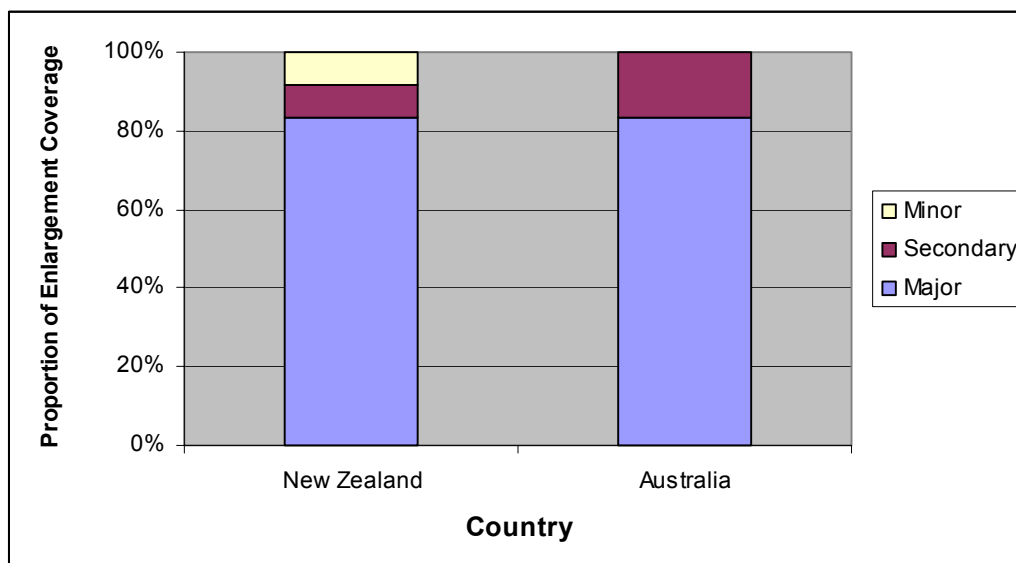


Figure 6.2: Degree of EU Centrality in Enlargement Coverage, New Zealand and Australia

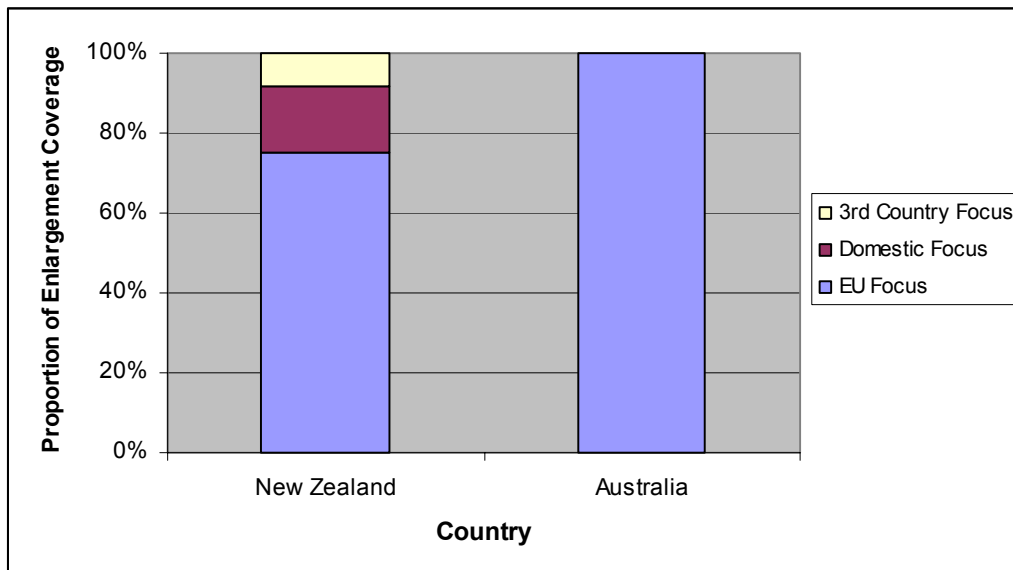


Figure 6.3: Focus of Domesticity of Enlargement Coverage, New Zealand and Australia

Unsurprisingly, all the located enlargement stories had EU concerns as their major focus in New Zealand, and almost all in Australia (four of five). It was slightly more surprising however, to note that items relating solely to the EU were also overwhelmingly the norm: nine of the 12 enlargement stories in New Zealand were concerned only with EU matters, while two were connected to a domestic New Zealand focus and one with matters relating to a third country (although this country was Serbia – a country which aims to become an EU candidate country, so arguably could be said to be EU focused also). In Australia, not one news item connected enlargement in any way to matters of Australian interest.

6.3.3. News Frames

As discussed above, Australian and New Zealand business and political leaders noted several political and economic consequences that were predicted likely to occur as a result of enlargement. This study evaluated whether the television news depictions of EU enlargement matched these predictions, by assessing whether the coverage made reference to both spheres of EU action, as well as more socially-concerned

enlargement. Figure 6.4 shows the results of the primary framing of enlargement in both countries.

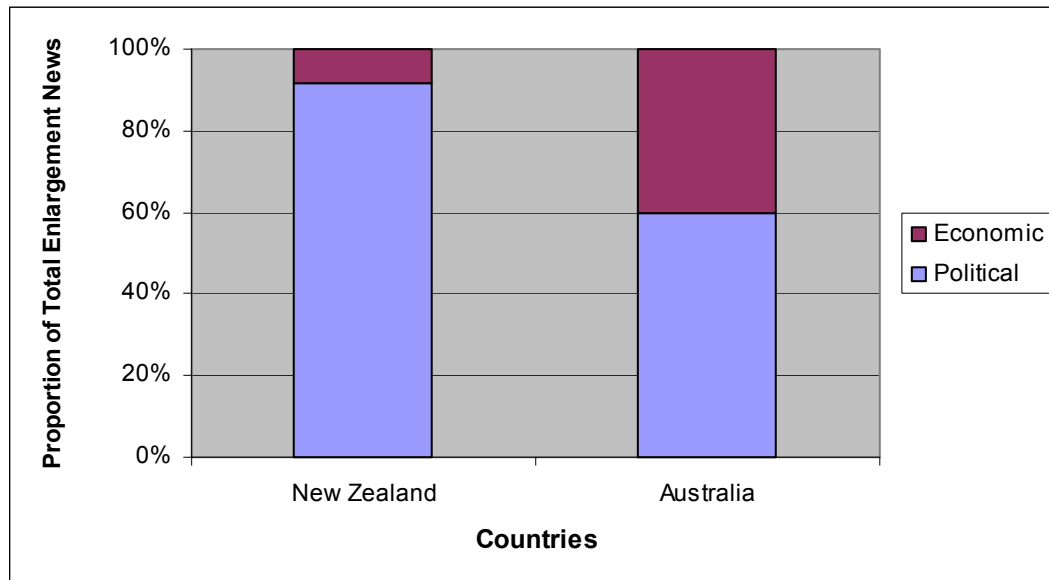


Figure 6.4: Primary Frames of Enlargement Coverage, New Zealand and Australia

What is immediately apparent from Figure 6.4 is the total absence of news relating to the EU's social affairs. Politically-related news was clearly the dominant enlargement category, for both New Zealand and Australia, although in the latter, economic news was more frequent, accounting for 40 percent of the total enlargement news. In New Zealand economically-oriented enlargement news comprised only 11 percent of the total.

6.3.4. Topics of Enlargement

Given the size and significance of enlargement, both as a topic and as an ongoing activity of the EU, as well as the relatively high levels of Australian and New Zealand television news attention to the subject, it was anticipated that a variety of enlargement sub-topics would be presented in the monitored news bulletins. Figure 6.5 shows a break-down of the enlargement themes and topics.

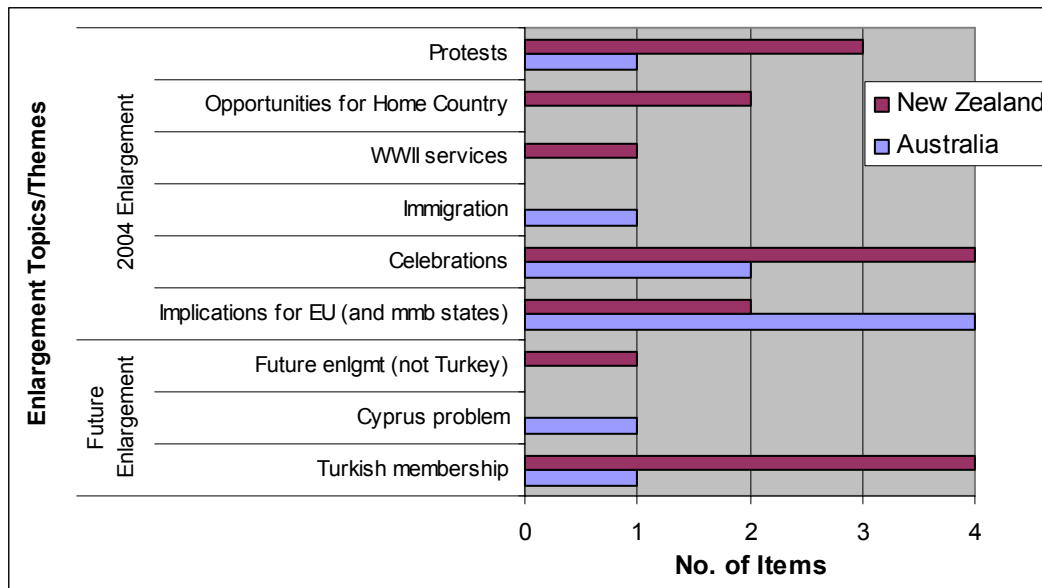


Figure 6.5: Topics/Themes of Enlargement Coverage, New Zealand and Australia

There were some distinct differences in the thematic trends of EU enlargement coverage between the two monitored countries, although the sub-topics identified in each were able to be broadly grouped into two categories: those that dealt with the 2004 enlargement, and those addressing the prospective future enlargements of the EU. In New Zealand, coverage of both categories was evenly distributed, while in Australia, items concerning the future enlargements of the EU were far less visible. In terms of the specific sub-topics, both countries prioritised the celebrations surrounding the accession of ten new Member States to the EU in May 2004. Parties were thrown in honour of the event and fireworks displays were seen across the continent, so it was not surprising that this event caught the attention of the world's media. The topic of opportunities for the home country to gain from the enlargement appeared only in New Zealand and then only twice, which corresponds to the low levels of domesticated coverage in general in New Zealand and the complete absence of such news in Australia.

While the two topics that incorporated an element of controversy – Turkey’s membership bid, and the protests that were staged against the enlargement process – were prominent in New Zealand, the slightly more mundane topic of the pragmatic implications of enlargement for the EU lead the Australian enlargement coverage. In particular, two of the Australian news items discussed the political and economic implications of enlargement for Latvia, with one item focusing specifically on the difficulties for Latvia of its ethnic Russian population which would not become EU citizens, as they were not eligible for Latvian citizenship.

6.3.5. *Character of News*

The list of topics addressed in the New Zealand and Australian EU enlargement also indicates the values of newsworthiness present in the enlargement coverage. Figures 6.6 and 6.7 show the catalogue of news values identified in the enlargement coverage in both countries during 2004.

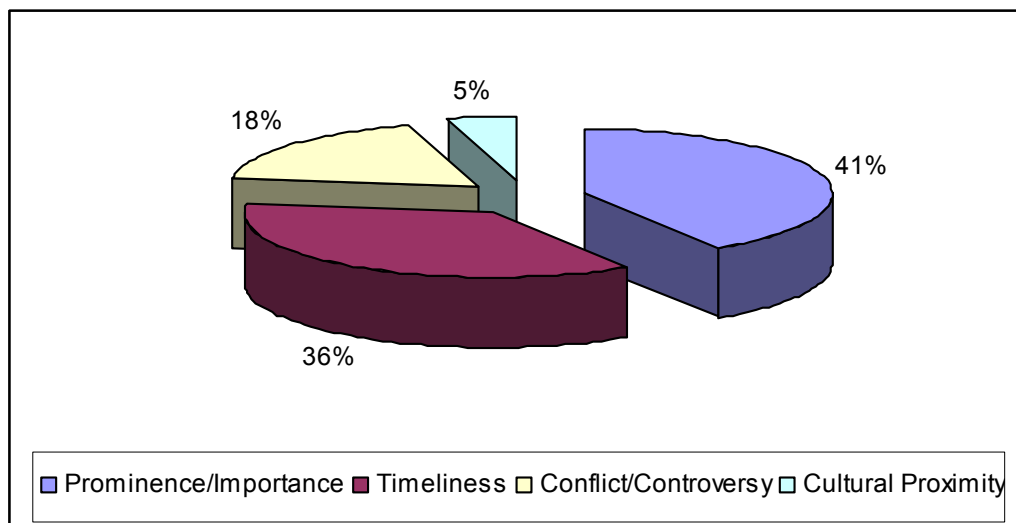


Figure 6.6: Character of Enlargement News, New Zealand

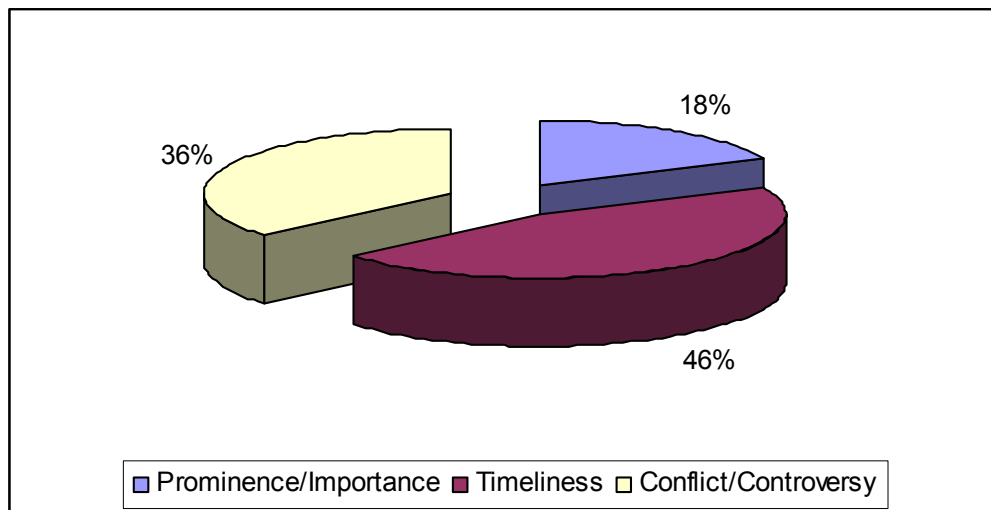


Figure 6.7: Character of Enlargement News, Australia

What is immediately evident from the above graphs is that not all of the six assessed news values were identified in the enlargement coverage. As discussed in the previous chapters, the catalogue of news values was: prominence/importance, timeliness, conflict/controversy, human interest, cultural proximity, and the unusual. In the New Zealand analysis, four values of newsworthiness accounted for all of the enlargement coverage, and in Australia only three were noted. The news values of human interest and the unusual were not determined to be present in any of the analysed enlargement news items in either country, and cultural proximity was also entirely absent from the Australian sample. In New Zealand prominence/importance was the most common value found in the enlargement coverage, although this value was only marginally more common than timeliness. In Australia, timeliness was a more common justification for a news item to screen. An element of conflict or controversy was the next most common reason for an EU item about enlargement screening in either of the two countries, and particularly in Australia. Finally, a degree of cultural proximity was identified in a very small number of enlargement news items in New Zealand.

6.3.6. Actors

As has been seen in the previous two chapters, the EU was generally represented by its Member State actors in both the New Zealand television coverage and the Asia-Pacific coverage more broadly. However, unlike the dominant framing identified in the previous chapters, which emphasised the EU's external political actions, enlargement is an internal policy area of the EU, thus it was anticipated that a higher proportion of EU actors would feature. Figure 6.8 depicts the various EU actors considered to represent enlargement.

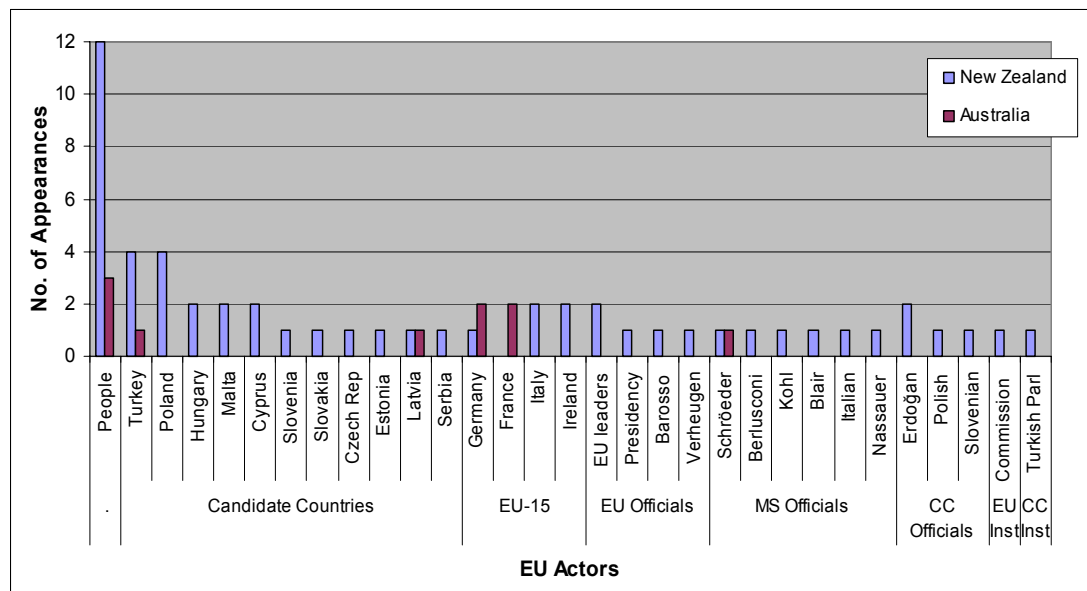


Figure 6.8: EU Actors in Enlargement Coverage, New Zealand and Australia

It is immediately clear from Figure 6.8 that the Australian EU enlargement coverage featured very few EU actors overall. Although the Australian enlargement coverage total was lower than New Zealand's, it is still remarkable that there were so few individual actors shown to be participating in the enlargement process, given the number of Member States involved in particular. By comparison, New Zealand television news items on enlargement presented a broad range of EU actors. Overall, the category of candidate countries was the largest in the New Zealand coverage, and within this, Poland and Turkey shared dual honours for the leading candidate country,

followed by Malta and Cyprus. Many other candidate countries were also identified, but were each only mentioned in one news item. Lithuania was the only accession country joining the EU in 2004 that did not feature at least once.

With the exception of a single appearance each from Latvia and Turkey, the candidate countries themselves were invisible in the Australian television news coverage. France and Germany were the only individual EU actors to receive more than one mention in the Australian television news on enlargement, and Germany's leader Gerhard Schröder was also featured once.

The very broad category of people was the largest in both New Zealand and Australia, and it was overwhelmingly so in the former case. This group included various citizens of the EU, whether they were farmers, police, members of the public engaged in protest, crowds of people celebrating the EU enlargement or people working within the institutions of the EU.

6.4. IMAGES OF THE ENLARGING EU:

METAPHORIC AND VISUAL IMAGERY OF ENLARGEMENT

Metaphors are considered to be powerful devices in language, used to describe the world, and particularly, used to introduce unfamiliar or complex subject matter in a readily comprehensible way. In matters of foreign affairs, and in this case, the constant transformations of an important foreign counterpart – the EU – metaphors are considered to be important devices used by newsmakers to package information for their audiences in an eminently familiar way, and in a way which ensures their audiences will be able to keep pace with the new geopolitical structure of the EU.

Metaphors create vivid imagery using language, but television news items also include powerful visual images in their presentations of each day's important global

events. Although television news studies have often ignored the visual images employed by newsmakers, this study considers them a vital component of the television news-constructed image of the EU. In particular, the visual images employed in representing the EU are considered to offer useful insights into the creation and recognition of the concept “EU” outside of the EU’s borders. As such, in addition to the various metaphors used to describe the enlargement, this chapter also analyses the various visual devices used by Australasian newsmakers.

In New Zealand, of the 12 enlargement related news items that comprise the data set for this case study, a total of 83 metaphors were noted, depicting the actions or activities of the EU actors and concepts outlined above. In Australia, the smaller data set yielded 31 conceptual metaphors relating to the EU and enlargement. A total of 12 news items from both Australia and New Zealand were analysed for their visual representations of the EU.⁵¹¹

In this study, *EU enlargement* is the target concept of the metaphors. The located metaphors were presumed to be used by newsmakers and news audiences alike to interpret the concepts and actors that were inherently connected to the events of that time, including: EU institutions and officials; the pre-enlargement EU-15 (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom); the ten enlargement candidates for accession in 2004 (Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia); EU candidates for 2007 accession (Bulgaria and Romania); delayed candidates (Turkey); possible candidates (Serbia, Ukraine); and the citizens and policy-makers of those countries.

As was discussed above, topics concerning the EU’s enlargement were able to be grouped into one of either two broad categories when it came to the EU’s enlargement

⁵¹¹ Due to different data collection methods in the Australian and New Zealand case, and also due to technical difficulties in some of the New Zealand recordings, only 12 of the possible 18 news items pertaining to the enlargement were available.

processes: either the 2004 accession of ten new Member States, or, alternatively the prospects for future EU enlargements. Coverage of the latter variety almost exclusively focused on the controversial Turkish bid for membership, although there was a single news item discussing Serbia's possible membership application in New Zealand. This second category of enlargement was also given much greater preference in the New Zealand television news than it was in Australia. The remainder of this chapter discusses and evaluates both the metaphorical representations and the visual representations of the EU's enlargement processes in the Australasian television news media, as compared from either of the two angles – the 2004 enlargement and the future possible enlargements of the Union.

6.4.1. The 2004 EU Enlargement

Shared Metaphoric Imagery

While the specific topics and actors employed by the New Zealand and Australian television newsmakers differed, owing to the broad international significance of the 2004 EU enlargement and to the similar cultural contexts in the two countries, it was anticipated that there would be many similarities in their metaphoric representations of the event. One of the more apparent similarities was the shared use of metaphoric imagery connecting the EU's enlargement with concepts of growth. Whether this was human or organic growth, or whether it was growth conceptualised in terms of spatial expansion, images of this nature were expected, given the extent of the EU's geo-political transformation.

In Australia, the EU was described as “*enlarged*”,⁵¹² and with its increase in size came many benefits, particularly for its newer Member States. The leading benefit, according to the ABC, was economic “*growth*”.⁵¹³ In New Zealand, the EU's

⁵¹² ABC, “The European Union has become the world's largest free trade area with the inclusion from today of 10 new members”, *ABC News*, 1 May 2004.

⁵¹³ ABC, “There is opposition to EU policies in former communist states which have just signed up with their western neighbours”, *ABC News*, 2 May 2004.

“*expansion*”⁵¹⁴ was seen as the “*biggest*”⁵¹⁵ in the Union’s history. The ‘group’ had been “*widened*”,⁵¹⁶ and its “*enlargement*”⁵¹⁷ caused the television news media to conceive of it not simply in terms of an evolving organisation, but as one news item boldly declared, this was, a re-born “*new European Union*”.⁵¹⁸ This association of the enlargement with human growth was also identified in the Australian coverage. Not content to be born once, the EU was described as being re-born when it was described by the Australian television news media as “the *new Europe*”.⁵¹⁹ Different parts of this ‘new’ EU were also more physically capable than others, in the eyes of the Australian television news media at least. Some of the new Member States were seen to be “*stronger*”,⁵²⁰ which is a positive indication of their capacities, but it also contains a parallel negative aspect; if some of its new additions are ‘stronger’, it is intimated that there are other EU Member States that are ‘weaker’, which may perhaps lead to future problems for the ‘health’ of the enlarged EU.

Both New Zealand and Australian television news items also employed metaphors of human relationships to depict various aspects of the enlargement process, and one such metaphor that they shared was that of rivalry between people. Using game metaphors of rivalries in competitions and challenges is not uncommon in political and economic discourse,⁵²¹ and such images were common in the Australian

⁵¹⁴ TV1, “The new European Union will be the world’s biggest trading bloc”, *One News*, 1 May 2004; TV3, “The formation of the world’s largest trading bloc has been heralded by fireworks, celebrations, speeches and singing as ten new members were welcomed into the European Union”, *3 News*, 1 May 2004; TV1, “European Union leaders have formally celebrated the admission of ten new members at ceremony in the Irish capital of Dublin”, *One News*, 2 May 2004; TV3, “A ceremony in Dublin has celebrated the expansion of the European Union”, *3 News*, 2 May 2004.

⁵¹⁵ TV3, “The formation of the world’s largest trading bloc has been heralded...”.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁷ TV3, “A ceremony in Dublin has celebrated the expansion of the European Union”.

⁵¹⁸ TV1, “The new European Union will be the world’s biggest trading bloc”.

⁵¹⁹ ABC, “The European Union has become the world’s largest free trade area...”.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵²¹ Nicholas Howe, “Metaphor in Contemporary American Political Discourse”, *Metaphor and Symbol* 3, No. 2, (1980).

television news media's depictions of the EU's enlargement. With its sizeable expansion in 2004, the EU was now able to “*rival* the US”⁵²² and become the world's largest economy, although New Zealand television newsmakers went a step further and claimed that the EU was already “*rivalling* the US”.⁵²³ The competitions were not just had between the EU and its external partners either; rivalry was also said to exist within the Union. While some farmers from the new Member States claimed to be “*not ready to compete*”⁵²⁴ with their counterparts in the more affluent existing Member States, others believed that they in fact had “*the edge*”⁵²⁵ over their “*competitors*”⁵²⁶ in the old EU-15.

One category of metaphors that was used in the television news items of both countries had rather supernatural overtones. Touched by the hand of some benign cosmic force, the enlarged EU had been “*creat[ed] into a collective superpower*”,⁵²⁷ whose global reach would be wide. But it was not just benevolent forces at play in the EU and its enlargement process. Commenting on the work of New Zealand companies operating within the EU and its new Member States, one television news reporter noted that “the paperwork *has been hell*”,⁵²⁸ arguably creating an image of the EU as in league with dark forces. In the Australian television news, the EU itself was arguably a dangerous supernatural creature, being described on occasion as “an economic *giant*”.⁵²⁹

A certain level of ambiguity in the images of enlargement characterises the next shared group of metaphors. In this particular cluster of metaphors, the EU's expansion

⁵²² ABC, “The European Union has become the world's largest free trade area...”.

⁵²³ TV3, “The formation of the world's largest trading bloc has been heralded...”.

⁵²⁴ ABC, “There is opposition to EU policies in former communist states...”.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁷ TV3, “The formation of the world's largest trading bloc has been heralded...”.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁹ ABC, “The European Union has become the world's largest free trade area...”.

had also lead to the “*final closing*”⁵³⁰ of the space that had existed between East and West Europe. No longer was the European continent “*divided by the Iron Curtain*”⁵³¹; with the 2004 enlargement came “the end of *the divisions*”⁵³² that had existed during the previous century, and the European continent was now considered, at long last, reunited.

However, while the long-awaited reunification of Europe was now seemingly complete, the event was not always painted with an entirely positive brush. The old divisions might now be ‘closed’, but the magnitude of the enlargement was seen to generate many “new *challenges*”⁵³³ for the EU Member States, and if caution was not taken, was likely to lead to the creation of a new “wealth *gap*”⁵³⁴ between the original EU-15 and the new-comers. Some Australian commentators even saw the emergence of a new type of division; a “*two-tier* Union”⁵³⁵ that would favour and advantage some Member States over others.

The similarities in the framing of the 2004 EU enlargement by both Australian and New Zealand newsmakers ended here. The remainder of the discussion of the EU’s fifth enlargement will explore patterns of metaphoric framing which were unique in each country.

Contrasting Metaphoric Imagery

Given the significance of the 2004 enlargement, the lengthy preparations prior to the event and its unprecedented nature, it was unsurprising to find a number of metaphorical images in the New Zealand television news media that were associated

⁵³⁰ TV1, “Millions of people across Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean have celebrated entry into the European Union today”, *One News*, 1 May 2004.

⁵³¹ ABC, “The European Union has become the world’s largest free trade area...”.

⁵³² TV3, “The formation of the world’s largest trading bloc has been heralded...”.

⁵³³ TV3, “A ceremony in Dublin has celebrated the expansion of the European Union”.

⁵³⁴ TV1, “European Union leaders have formally celebrated the admission of ten new members...”.

⁵³⁵ ABC, “The European Union has become the world’s largest free trade area...”.

with celebrations. Member States, both new and old, “**hailed**”⁵³⁶ the May 1st event as a key date in the ongoing evolution of the EU. The New Zealand television news media declared the day to be “Europe’s biggest **party**”⁵³⁷ to date, and while the drama of the event saw many “cities **explod[ed]**”,⁵³⁸ it was “fireworks and music”⁵³⁹ that triggered these explosions, and not the bombs and gunfire of previous European conflicts, thus making the event a joyous and happy occasion for all.

As exciting as the enlargement was, the EU itself during the process was depicted in a number of quite specific ways, one of which was structural in nature. The EU was depicted as a building or structure – a common European house – that new Member States were gaining “**entry into**”.⁵⁴⁰ Undertaking a change as significant as the 2004 enlargement was also considered to involve structural and architectural changes to the ‘European House’, and its new “**formation**”⁵⁴¹ would be the “world’s largest trading **block**”.⁵⁴²

Associated to the structural metaphor of the ‘European House’ were the various representations of the EU as providing protection for its members from unseasonable elements. By becoming members of the European Union and thus coming ‘inside’ the European House, the new countries were now protected by the EU which was described as an “**umbrella**”.⁵⁴³ “**Under**”⁵⁴⁴ the EU, new Member States would be “**push[ed]**”⁵⁴⁵ to meet the same standards as those reached by the old Member States,

⁵³⁶ TV1, “Millions of people across Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean have celebrated...”.

⁵³⁷ TV3, “The formation of the world’s largest trading bloc has been heralded...”.

⁵³⁸ TV1, “Millions of people across Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean have celebrated...”.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴¹ TV3, “The formation of the world’s largest trading bloc has been heralded...”.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*

⁵⁴³ TV1, “The new European Union will be the world’s biggest trading bloc”.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

and would thus reap the same rewards, it was posited. However, the EU itself – despite being the shelter for new members to rest under – was sometimes left exposed to poor conditions. One news item noted that enlargement posed a risk of a “*flood* of immigrants”⁵⁴⁶ which could damage the structure of the EU, if it was not careful to ward off such dangers.

A number of metaphors framing the EU and its constituent parts during enlargement lent an air of machinery to the overall EU image. May 1st heralded the unveiling of the new season’s European ‘engine’, to which additions had been made, and Poland (one of ten new components) was now “*part of* the EU”.⁵⁴⁷ Another piece of this intricate EU mechanism; the “*rotating* EU Presidency”,⁵⁴⁸ was shown as being worked on by the current Presidency ‘mechanic’, Ireland. All these developments and modifications to the EU engine were ultimately going to make it “bring Central and Eastern Europe *up to speed*”,⁵⁴⁹ thus allowing the European project to ‘race’ off into its future. However, while it now arguably had greater speed and power, the EU’s path was not always pictured as an easy one to follow during and after enlargement. The EU could continue to “*push*”⁵⁵⁰ forward all it wanted, but if it was not careful to plot a clear course, the newly enlarged EU risked getting “*lost* in translation”.⁵⁵¹

The New Zealand metaphoric descriptions of the 2004 enlargement then were found to have a certain ambiguity; though it was now a stronger structure, the EU ‘building’ was at risk of damage because of its massive enlargement. The Australian television

⁵⁴⁶ TV3, “The formation of the world’s largest trading bloc has been heralded...”.

⁵⁴⁷ TV1, “The Prime Minister’s in Italy for the 60th anniversary of the Battle of Monte Cassino”, *One News*, 19 May 2004.

⁵⁴⁸ TV3, “A ceremony in Dublin has celebrated the expansion of the European Union”, *3 News*, 2 May 2004.

⁵⁴⁹ TV1, “The new European Union will be the world’s biggest trading bloc”.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵¹ TV3, “A ceremony in Dublin has celebrated the expansion of the European Union”.

news media however were much less cautious in using negatively charged metaphors to depict the enlargement.

Reference to the EU using the metaphor of ‘club’ has become a customary way of conceptualising the constantly-evolving European integration project, but it is a description that also encompasses very negative qualities. Commission Vice-President Margot Wallström has herself recently deplored the use of the word ‘club’ to describe the EU, saying that it brings to mind a highly negative and elitist image⁵⁵². This ‘elitist’ image of the metaphoric “*Club Euro*”⁵⁵³ was found in the Australian television news discourse, where it was described as an “*exclusive European club*”⁵⁵⁴ that was difficult to gain entry to, and one which was the desire of many. One Australian news report noted that membership to this club offered “the prosperity and security the mostly former Communist countries *have craved*”⁵⁵⁵ for so long.

If the EU club was challenging to get inside of, it was also somewhat difficult to reach. The image of the EU as a destination for people; as the final place of rest at the end of a long journey, was one that was frequently used in the Australian television news media to discuss the 2004 enlargement. However, this journey was seldom easy. Getting to the EU required one of the acceding states – Latvia – to “*prepare*”⁵⁵⁶ itself extensively, and then to “*push* inexorably”⁵⁵⁷ in order to reach its final destination. Once arriving at their goal of EU membership, the new Member States were likely to be dismayed to find the journey did not stop there. In fact, for these weary travellers, further challenges lay “*ahead*”⁵⁵⁸ inside the EU, and it was said by one news item

⁵⁵² The Economist, “Europe’s Midlife Crisis”, No. 8520, (March 17, 2007), 13.

⁵⁵³ ABC, “The European Union has become the world’s largest free trade area...”.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁶ ABC, “Russian nationalists in the former Soviet Republic of Latvia are warning of violence as the country prepares to join the European Union next month”, *ABC News*, 12 April 2004.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁸ ABC, “There is opposition to EU policies in former communist states...”.

that, “for many, in the short- term at least, *even more pain lies ahead*”.⁵⁵⁹ Another Australian news item, however, pointed out that the pain was likely worth it for the newest EU Member States, as their challenging journey had allowed them, “[i]n little more than a decade...[to have] *gone from* the Soviet Union *to the* European Union”.⁵⁶⁰

Just as the countries of Central and Eastern Europe were depicted as physically moving from the Soviet Union to the EU, so too the citizens of those countries were described in terms of physical movement. In the latter case though, these movements were depicted using metaphors of water, rather than personified actions. In the case of the EU’s 2004 enlargement, such images were used by the Australian television newsmakers to describe the changes in the EU’s population. With the accession of ten new Member States, observers had seen the population of the EU “*swell* to 450 million people”.⁵⁶¹ This vast size appeared to frighten some, with particularly farmers in some of the new EU Member States feeling anxiety about being “*wiped out*”⁵⁶² by a tidal wave from this ‘swollen’ EU ocean. But people in the EU-15 were also worried; in many of the pre-2004 member countries, measures were being taken to ensure that a “*flood* of benefit seekers”⁵⁶³ from the acceding countries did not overwhelm their resources.

The protection of those resources was perhaps the reason for the use of imagery by Australian newsmakers which created an image of the EU as an army. When the states of Central and Eastern Europe “*signed up*”⁵⁶⁴ to join the EU-15, an image was constructed of the EU as an army recruiter, encouraging others to join its ranks. And

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶¹ ABC, “The European Union has become the world’s largest free trade area...”.

⁵⁶² ABC, “There is opposition to EU policies in former communist states...”.

⁵⁶³ ABC, “The European Union has become the world’s largest free trade area...”.

⁵⁶⁴ ABC, “There is opposition to EU policies in former communist states...”.

the EU ‘army’ was not one that was afraid to discipline its own either. If the new recruits were seen to be acting in a displeasing manner, then their actions would “*prompt a stinging backlash*”⁵⁶⁵ from their more experienced ‘officers’.

Visual Depictions

While the metaphoric imagery depicting the EU’s 2004 enlargement was found to feature many country-specific features, this was not found to be the case in the visual imagery analysis. In fact, many of the images used to depict the actual May 1st celebrations were found to be identical in both Australia and New Zealand. The available news items relating to the 2004 enlargement were all assessed according to their various visual components, and three components in particular were the focus of this investigation: the *people* depicted in the item, the *setting or location* of the scene, and the various *symbols and objects* that were evident. The prominent visual trends in both countries and within each of these categories are discussed below.

Two broad categories of *people* were identified in the news items on enlargement; ordinary citizens of the EU and various officials or leaders of the EU. Perhaps surprisingly, given the common criticism of the EU as being an elitist ‘old boys’ club, the category of officials and political leaders was far less frequently seen in the May 2004 enlargement news items. Instead, in every such news item, the people of the EU were more prominent. Occasionally certain members of the public were identified through an on-screen visual by-line, but more often they were depicted as just many unnamed citizens; the generic faces of the newly enlarged EU. Interestingly, those few people who were visually identified on-screen were all citizens of one new EU Member State. Boris Velichko, a farmer, Yuri Petropavlovsk, an ethnic-Russian activist, and Svens Dinsorf were all seen in three different news items about the 2004 enlargement, and all were visually identified as being from Latvia. Velichko was described as a farmer and was dressed in old, rugged and worn work-clothes – a plaid shirt, old dirty hat, and large, bulky woollen jumper – and was shown working on a

⁵⁶⁵ ABC, “The European Union has become the world’s largest free trade area...”.

farm (presumably his), which as will be discussed subsequently, was shown to be dilapidated and un-modernised. Petropavlovsk was shown wearing ordinary, drab clothing – in particular a thick grey woollen jersey – and was described as a Russian Schools Activist who was not a Latvian citizen himself. This latter feature was depicted visually through Petropavlovsk showing his passport to the camera, which focused on the words: “Nepilsona Pase/Alien’s Passport”. Finally, Dinsorf was shown wearing stylish, modern clothing – a tan leather jacket, black tee-shirt and black trousers – and was depicted holding a small baby and standing beside his wife. They were part of a larger crowd celebrating the enlargement on May 1st.

In contrast to these three named representatives of enlargement, the majority of people shown in the relevant news reports were unidentified. The most common visual depiction of such people was in wide camera shots of large crowds of people. In all but two of the analysed news items, large crowds of people were seen, and they were engaged in either of two types of action: either celebrating the enlargement or protesting. Those celebrating the enlargement were large groups of people who were seen singing, clapping, waving their arms, cheering, laughing and dancing (Figures 6.9 and 6.10). The people in these groups were mixed ages, ranging from very young children, to elderly citizens although more commonly, people in their twenties and thirties were shown. Additionally a mix of both men and women were shown in these celebratory crowds.



Figure 6.9: Crowd Celebrating EU Enlargement



Figure 6.10: Crowd Celebrating EU Enlargement

The alternative crowd action to the celebrations described above were the crowds of protestors or rioters. This type of group was shown in enlargement news just as frequently as the former group, and the people in the protesting crowds were seen marching, often yelling or chanting, waving banners or placards, throwing objects and punching their fists into the air (Figures 6.11 and 6.12). Where the action of the celebrating crowds described above gave an overall impression of joy and excitement,

the protestors were visually angry and violent, as seen in the facial expressions of crowd members and the aggression of their actions. The members of the rioting groups were usually seen to be in their twenties or thirties and were dominated by men.



Figure 6.11: Crowd Protesting EU Enlargement



Figure 6.12: Crowd Protesting EU Enlargement

Often the scenes depicting the rioting crowds also contained images of another group of unnamed people, although the uniforms of this particular group identified them clearly as police. Police people were dressed usually in protective clothing, including bullet-proof vests and helmets, and were seen either watching the crowds of protestors or engaged in a stand-off with the protestors. In the latter case, the police were seen moving in configuration, assembling into a human barricade line which was attempting to force the protestors backwards (Figure 6.12, above). In one incident, the police were also shown spraying water cannons against the crowd.

In addition to these larger groups of unidentified people, a number of individual people were also seen in the 2004 enlargement news items, such as people working in shops or markets, or walking along streets, shopping, sitting in classrooms, working in factories and working as translators. The latter were all featured in one particular news item, and although within that one item there were images of many different people, they were all shown working in the same setting, all wearing headphones and all were speaking into microphones.

As mentioned above, in addition to the many ‘ordinary’ people that were depicted in the enlargement news items, there were also a variety of officials depicted. As in the case of the citizens of the EU, only a very small number of these officials were visually identified on-screen. Indeed, only three were identified and as in the situation above, they were all representatives of the new Member States. Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski, Latvian President Vaira Vike-Freiberga, and Slovenian Prime Minister Anton Rop were the only people in the category of officials who were identified. Kwasniewski and Vike-Freiberga were both depicted speaking to the camera, while Rop was shown addressing a crowd of people from a stage (Figure 6.13).



Figure 6.13: Slovenian President Anton Rop Addressing Crowd for Enlargement

A variety of other officials were seen in the enlargement news items, and although they were not visually labelled, a number of them were sufficiently well known as to be recognisable without such an on-screen by-line. Tony Blair, Silvio Berlusconi, and Jacques Chirac were all clearly seen in several of the enlargement news items, but notably missing from this quartet was Germany's leader. The features that distinguished these unidentified officials were their gender, clothing and actions, which were almost always the same; with one exception, the people noted to be officials were middle-aged men, they all wore black or similarly dark suits (although the one exception – a single female official – Vike-Freiberga, wore a bright blue suit), and they were seen either standing in a formal pose for a group photograph, or were seen shaking hands with one another (Figure 6.14).



Figure 6.14: Example of Unidentified Officials (Men, black suits)

As discussed previously in this chapter, the majority of news items relating to the EU's enlargement were presented from a primarily EU perspective, where the EU was the major focus, and the events were seen to take place within the EU. In light of this, it was interesting in the visual analysis to account for the *location* of the news story, and to establish whether any visual markers were used to identify a location as inside the EU. While the settings of a news item, or parts of a news item were both indoors or outdoors, the latter was much more common. Although some shots in an item were taken inside a room or office; for example in the offices of the identified leaders discussed above, or in a classroom or workplace, the majority of the settings were outdoors, and specifically in streets or around harbours.

Many scenes from the enlargement celebrations were located at unidentified harbours. Such scenes were mostly depicted at night and were visually spectacular with fireworks exploding above a bridge and the lights from the fireworks reflecting in the water of the harbour (Figure 6.15). Images of this kind were found frequently in the news items describing the May 1st celebrations. Interestingly, while it was apparent from the audio commentary in the news item that these harbour scenes were taking

place in the EU, there was nothing specific about the harbours that indicated visually exactly where they were located.



Figure 6.15: Example of Enlargement Image of Fireworks over Harbour

The second type of setting was also the most commonly seen location, and this was a street setting. The crowds of people discussed above – whether protesting or celebrating – as well as the individual people that were often seen, were always shown outside on a street or in a town square (Figure 6.16). A variety of common features were noted in these street scenes. Many of the streets were repeatedly shown as being lined on either side by old building façades, with common architectural features, like carved stone buildings with window frames, balconies, arches, columns and windows, usually representing different periods of ‘European’ architecture, in particular neoclassical or renaissance.⁵⁶⁶ Likewise, crowd scenes taking place in the town squares were flanked by large neoclassical buildings with columns (see Figure 6.9, above), or ornate baroque façades. These architectural symbols may be argued to

⁵⁶⁶ Barry Bergdoll, *European Architecture 1750-1890*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), Ian Sutton, (*Western Architecture : a Survey, from Ancient Greece to the Present*), (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999).

represent ‘old Europe’, as they have been protected by the Council of Europe since 1975,⁵⁶⁷ and periods like the Classical, Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque are so celebrated as being indicative of Europe that generic versions of buildings in their style appear as ‘symbols’ of such on the euro banknotes. Alternatively, instead of these largely historical street settings, occasionally the action of an enlargement news item was seen taking place on a more modern street, perhaps representing the ‘new’ Member States of Europe, where there were cars driving past, as well as large, concrete buildings with many storeys and lots of windows, billboards and sometimes outdoor restaurant terraces.



Figure 6.16: Enlargement of a Street Setting with ‘Old Europe’ Style Buildings Framing Scene

The final element of the visual analysis was to assess the use of the various *symbols* of the EU within a news item, as well as other objects that were repeatedly shown and used to visually depict an aspect of the enlargement. The intent in this aspect of the analysis was to reveal the iconographical symbolism in use in the EU enlargement

⁵⁶⁷ Council of Europe, “European Charter of Architectural Heritage”, *The Europe of Cultural Cooperation*, http://www.coe.int/t/e/cultural_co-operation/heritage/resources/echartpat.asp.

news items, to ascertain the underlying principles of those images which reveal the basic attitude of the image creator, in this case the basic attitude of Australasian newsmakers towards the enlarging EU. This category of visual components also included the text that appeared on-screen in a news item.

Firstly, and predictably, the most common symbol of the EU to appear throughout the enlargement news items was the EU flag, or the associated circle of 12 stars, both of which are considered to be “universally accepted as the symbols of Europe”,⁵⁶⁸ despite the references to them having recently been removed from the Reform Treaty.⁵⁶⁹ With the exception of one news item, all other television news reports on the 2004 enlargement included at least one image of an EU flag/star circle, but frequently more than one such image was seen. These flags were sometimes being raised in special flag-raising ceremonies (Figure 6.17), were shown flying from flagpoles atop buildings, were being waved by people in crowds, appeared on signs and banners, on balloons, and even once illuminated in the sky in exploding fireworks.



Figure 6.17: Example of EU Flag being Raised

⁵⁶⁸ European Central Bank, “Interim Report to the European Monetary Institute’s Working Group on Printing and Issuing a European Banknote”, *Selection of a Theme for the European Banknote Series*, http://www.ecb.int/bc/pdf/preparation/Theme_report.pdf.

⁵⁶⁹ BBC News, “EU Treaty Proposals”, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6232834.stm>.

Other symbols used to represent the EU were maps and globes that were often employed in the news items. Graphics of globes were turned so that the European continent was featured and maps of Europe were used to show the location of specific Member States. A third and final symbol to appear in several new items was the image of a passport (Figure 6.18). Yet, the passports in these enlargement stories were not the common European passport, but were instead the passports of new Member States, and Poland and Latvia in particular.



Figure 6.18: Enlargement Image, Passports

The use of text as part of a visual image also has symbolic value. Indeed, as Foret has noted, discourses are themselves symbols,⁵⁷⁰ and text is a primary signifier of discourse.⁵⁷¹ As such, this study analysed the on-screen text in enlargement news items, and it was found to appear frequently as part of enlargement images. Firstly, and most pragmatically, text was sometimes used to reference a local news reporter, for example, “Eric Campbell, ABC Correspondent”, although as has been discussed previously, since the majority of Australian and New Zealand EU news items were unattributed to a source this type of text was not frequently identified. The second way in which writing was used in EU news items was to identify the people and

⁵⁷⁰ Francois Foret, “Power and Symbols at the Time of European Governance”, (Presentation for the final GARNET Conference, *The Europeans*, Florence: Italy, 25-26 May 2007), 2.

⁵⁷¹ Theo van Leeuwen, “Semiotics and Iconography”.

places of the various news events. Those individuals discussed above were the examples of text identifying individual actors, in particular the citizens and leaders of Latvia and Poland were noted. Additionally, writing was sometimes used to denote the location of the news story, and this generated a list of European place names as well as the EU itself: “European Union”, “Riga”, “Dublin, Ireland”, “Brussels, Belgium”, “Polish-German border”, “Latvia”, “Ludza, Eastern Latvia”, “Monte Cassino”, arguably a rather strange collection of words to represent the ‘new’ EU.

Text was also found to be used in ways which emphasised the linguistic diversity of the EU. Words like “Translation” appeared often, sometimes in reference to a person speaking on-screen in a language other than English (which was subsequently dubbed over with an English translation), and once in reference to a news item which focused particularly on the challenges of enlarging the EU to 25 Member States and the linguistic difficulties that arose from such an event. In this latter example, the words “Lost in Translation” were written across a graphic of a globe in the opening sequence of the news item. In addition, words often appeared written in languages other than English, including: “Rzeczpospolita Polska” and “Rzeczpospolita Polska Paszport”; “Latvijas Republika” and “Nepilsona Pase”; “ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ ΕΥΡΩΠΗ”, and “Günaydin Avrupa”. In one news item, a list of different EU languages replicating the simultaneous translation programmes used in official EU meetings even scrolled across the screen: ““01 Deutsch, 02 English, 03 Francais, 04 Italiano, 05 Nederlands, 06 Dansk, 07 Ellinika, 08 Espanol, 09 Portugeuse, 10 Suomi, 11 Svekska, 12 Cestina, 13 Latviesu, 14 Polski, 15 Eesti, 16 Slovenscin”. Finally, text was sometimes used within a news image (that is, not imposed as a graphic after filming, but occurring within the shot of the camera) to identify representatives of countries, for example: “Kypros”, “Malta”, “France”, and the “United Kingdom”. In the latter case, the country-labels were seen on desks in front of people sitting at the United Nations.

The final group of symbols and objects that were identified were somewhat surprising, particularly in news items pertaining to EU enlargement. Several news

items featured images from World War Two, including black and white photographs of emaciated, naked corpses lying in rows (Figure 6.19), as well as maps showing battle sites, war monuments and grave sites with cross-shaped tomb-stones, and even several images of swastikas. The use of black and white photographs added to the overall sense of history with these images, indicating perhaps that for Australia and New Zealand, the EU is still very much associated with the tragedy of past wars.



Figure 6.19: Enlargement Images of World War II

6.4.2. Future Growth: Prospects for EU Enlargement

Metaphoric Imagery

While the 2004 EU enlargement caught the attention of the Pacific media, enlargement coverage in the New Zealand television news was not solely concerned with the May 2004 event. In fact, news relating to the possible future enlargements of the European Union received an equal volume of coverage through out the monitored year. Oddly perhaps, this equal prominence to news relating to the future enlargements of the EU was not replicated in the Australian television news. Here the topic received only one news item across the entire year, and only two metaphoric

instances. In New Zealand, however, the metaphoric framing of the future EU enlargements displayed marked differences from the 2004 coverage, although interestingly, it was found to mirror many of the specific features of the Australian 2004 coverage.

There was a very specific and consistent framing by New Zealand newsmakers of the EU as an exclusive club that was very difficult to gain entry to, as well issues of health (for the prospective ‘club’ members), a number of metaphors depicting the EU as a destination, as well as several which described the journey to get there.

One metaphoric image used repeatedly by the New Zealand television newsmakers when depicting the EU’s interactions with its prospective Member States was that of the EU as a very exclusive club which was difficult to gain access to, a metaphor that was only used by the Australian television news media when considering the 2004 enlargement. In the New Zealand future enlargement discussions, the EU was occasionally referred to quite explicitly as a “**club**”,⁵⁷² and although the EU ‘club’ was very “**exclusive**”,⁵⁷³ it was making efforts shake this image and prove it was not exclusively a “**Christian club**”,⁵⁷⁴ through beginning of club membership talks with Turkey. “**Joining**” the EU, and gaining “**membership**” to this ultra elite club was depicted as being Turkey’s “**dream**”.

But gaining access to the highly exclusive EU society was not just a matter of desire. Both Turkey and Serbia were shown as wanting to join the club, but there were a number of conditions that they had to meet before they were likely to be asked to join. In this respect, the EU was framed by the New Zealand television news media not only as an exclusive club, but more specifically, as an exclusive sports club or team.

⁵⁷² TV1, “A sudden back-down on a plan to lock up adulterers has put Turkey’s dream of joining the European Union back on the table”, *One News*, 24 September 2004.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

Selection to the team required a bill of health, and while Turkey was described as needing a strength “**boost**”⁵⁷⁵, Serbia was shown as already working hard to get “**fit**”⁵⁷⁶ enough for “**membership**”⁵⁷⁷ to the team. Team selection was not always a simple matter of meeting the necessary health and fitness requirements though. Membership to the EU was also shown in the New Zealand television news sphere as being sometimes a result of luck and gambling; although it was “by no means **guaranteed**”⁵⁷⁸ an entry pass, Turkey considered the odds were in its favour, and it was seen as placing a “**bid**”⁵⁷⁹ in the hopes of winning the EU accession lottery.

As team captain, the EU was shown to be rather demanding, and as a captain who often took on a coaching role. The authoritative team captain was seen in the New Zealand television news space as having “**warned**”⁵⁸⁰ Turkey that its continued misbehaviour might mean it never became a full team member. When Turkey continued its troublesome ways, the EU then “**halted**”⁵⁸¹ its application temporarily until it had been sufficiently punished to see the errors of its ways. The “**EU way**”⁵⁸² it seemed, was the only training method that was allowed, and this involved jumping over a lot of “**hurdles**”.⁵⁸³ While the EU itself was “**poised**”⁵⁸⁴ and ready to leap effortlessly over such challenges, it was posited by the New Zealand television news

⁵⁷⁵ TV1, “A Nobel Peace Prize nominee and three other Kurdish activists are free tonight after spending a decade in a Turkish jail”, *One News*, 10 June 2004.

⁵⁷⁶ TV1, “The dawning of a new political era is being celebrated tonight in Serbia”, *One News*, 28 June 2004.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁸ TV1, “The European Union is close to beginning membership talks with Turkey that would end a 40 year wait”, *One News*, 17 December 2004.

⁵⁷⁹ TV1, “Police in Turkey have clashed with demonstrators at the end of a massive protest in the mainly Kurdish city of Diyarbakir”, *One News*, 13 December 2004.

⁵⁸⁰ TV1, “A Nobel Peace Prize nominee and three other Kurdish activists are free tonight...”.

⁵⁸¹ TV1, “A sudden back-down on a plan to lock up adulterers...”.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*

⁵⁸³ TV1, “The European Union is close to beginning membership talks with Turkey...”.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

reporters that Turkey might not yet be “*ready for membership*”⁵⁸⁵ and further training efforts may need to be made.

An alternative image to that of the EU as a sports team or club was that of the EU as a destination, and this metaphor was used by both the Australian and New Zealand television newsmakers to describe the prospects of Turkey acceding to the EU. In New Zealand, as it took what was described as its first “*step towards* the EU”,⁵⁸⁶ Turkey was pictured as being on “the *path to*”⁵⁸⁷ the EU, while in Australia, so eager was Turkey to join the EU that it was out laying the concrete and “*paving the way*”⁵⁸⁸ to get there. The EU was also shown as perhaps willing to meet Turkey on the road, as it too took “a *truly radical step*”⁵⁸⁹ towards Turkey. The journey to the final EU destination was not expected to be short though; while it had begun its trek, the New Zealand television news media believed that it was going to be a “*long road to* EU membership”⁵⁹⁰ for Turkey.

The physical distance between the applicant countries (specifically Turkey) and the EU was also emphasised by the New Zealand television news media. Turkey was considered to located be “*outside of* Europe”,⁵⁹¹ a fact that would likely make it difficult for it to ever gain “*entry*”⁵⁹² into the EU. In Australia, the EU also represented as a space which Turkey wished to enter: “...its historic *entry into* the

⁵⁸⁵ TV1, “A sudden back-down on a plan to lock up adulterers...”.

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁸ Channel 9, “Turkey has paved the way for negotiations to begin on its historic entry into the European Union after two days of intensive talks in Brussels”, *National Nine News*, 18 December 2004.

⁵⁸⁹ TV1, “A sudden back-down on a plan to lock up adulterers...”.

⁵⁹⁰ TV1, “The European Union is close to beginning membership talks with Turkey...”.

⁵⁹¹ TV1, “A sudden back-down on a plan to lock up adulterers...”.

⁵⁹² TV1, “The European Union is close to beginning membership talks with Turkey...”; TV1, “Police in Turkey have clashed with demonstrators...”.

European Union”⁵⁹³ was likely to be a day of great delight for road-weary Turkey. While the New Zealand television news media considered Turkey to be a “*bridge between* Europe and Asia”,⁵⁹⁴ the bridge was unlikely to make it easier for Turkey to close the “cultural *gap*”⁵⁹⁵ between itself and Europe.

Frustration, perhaps, at the slow progress that it was making in gaining access to the privileged EU club, prompted Turkey to make more defiant moves to gain its “*EU membership*”,⁵⁹⁶ in the eyes of the New Zealand television news broadcasters. Tired of negotiating calmly, Turkey instead sent a “veritable *army of Turkish journalists*”⁵⁹⁷ to Brussels to take “*EU entry*”⁵⁹⁸ by force. The EU, however, was depicted as being prepared for such an attack, and it in turn forced “a *sudden back-down*”⁵⁹⁹ from the Turkish invaders.

The image of the EU as a ‘fortress’ able to withstand such attacks was also reinforced. After clandestine meetings within the fortress of the EU, where key actors “*manoeuvre[ed]*”⁶⁰⁰ stealthily through the “Brussels *corridors of power*”,⁶⁰¹ it was decided to extend the already large EU “*zone of peace, prosperity and democracy*”⁶⁰² by putting an appeasement “*deal*”⁶⁰³ for Turkey “*back on the table*”.⁶⁰⁴ Presumably

⁵⁹³ Channel 9, “Turkey has paved the way for negotiations to begin...”

⁵⁹⁴ TV1, “A sudden back-down on a plan to lock up adulterers...”

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁶ TV1, “A Nobel Peace Prize nominee and three other Kurdish activists are free tonight...”

⁵⁹⁷ TV1, “The European Union is close to beginning membership talks with Turkey...”

⁵⁹⁸ TV1, “Police in Turkey have clashed with demonstrators...”

⁵⁹⁹ TV1, “A sudden back-down on a plan to lock up adulterers...”

⁶⁰⁰ TV1, “The European Union is close to beginning membership talks with Turkey...”

⁶⁰¹ TV1, “A sudden back-down on a plan to lock up adulterers...”

⁶⁰² TV1, “The European Union is close to beginning membership talks with Turkey...”

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

the defeated Turkey accepted this offer, as shortly afterwards the EU was pictured to be “*embracing*”⁶⁰⁵ its new ally.

Visual Imagery

A variety of strong metaphoric images then were used by particularly New Zealand newsmakers to describe the prospective enlargements the EU was seen to be contemplating. Interestingly, the visual analysis of these news items revealed much less potent visual imagery than did the analysis of the 2004 enlargement.

Similarly to the 2004 enlargement analysis, two particular groups of people were noted in the visual analysis of news items pertaining to the future enlargements, and the majority of people in both groups were not identified visually. The two groups of people were ordinary people of the EU and its prospective candidate countries, and the leaders of the EU (including its Member States and candidate countries). Visual images of both types of people were frequent in all of the analysed news items.

As in the 2004 enlargement analysis, ordinary citizens were most commonly depicted as a large crowd of people. In fact, in all but one of the news items pertaining to the future enlargements, images of large crowds were seen, perhaps intended to be indicative of the perceived ‘floods’ of potential migrants into the EU from a large country like Turkey. Unlike the 2004 enlargement coverage though, where the crowds were depicted both as celebrating the events and challenging them through protests and riots, in the future enlargement coverage the latter variety of crowd action was featured. Crowds of people were seen chanting and shouting, waving their fists in the air, brandishing banners and placards, marching, and in one situation engaging in violent confrontation with police (Figure 6.20).

⁶⁰⁵ TV1, “A sudden back-down on a plan to lock up adulterers...”.



Figure 6.20: Protesting Crowd in Future Enlargement Item

While they remained unnamed, in several news items individual people were singled out in camera shots. Usually these people were members of the crowds who the camera focused attention on, however, occasionally there were also images of individual people. Three people in particular were featured prominently in one news item. Although they were not visually identified, they were the focus of not only the news item itself, but also appeared to have the attention of the crowd as seen in the item. One of the three was a woman, dressed in a black coat with a bright turquoise scarf, while the other two were middle aged men, both wearing dark suits. They were seen in the news item moving through the throngs of people in the crowd, who were clamouring to get closer to the three, and later in the item were seen giving a press conference. Other individual people seen in the items seemed to be depicted in order to emphasise their ‘otherness’ to the more traditional conceptions of ‘European’, and these included a woman in full burqha who was shown pushing a pram down a street with a man presumed to be her husband, and another woman wearing a headscarf who was singled out by the news camera in a crowd scene.

In addition, one item featured six men, five of whom wore dark suits and the sixth who wore a long brown robe, shown standing in a court room in a small cordoned off area of the room. They were being watched by several uniformed soldiers (Figure 6.21), giving the impression that the six men were prisoners. In the same scene three men wearing black robes with red trim were seen sitting behind a bench; the combination of their robes and the structure of the room (discussed below) indicated that these three men were judges. Soldiers and police in uniform were also noted in several other news items, often in the same scenes as the crowd members. In one rather aggressive scene, crowd members clashed with police, and two policemen were seen as they violently assaulted a civilian who was lying prostrate on the ground.



Figure 6.21: Example of Image of Guarded Prisoners

In addition to ‘ordinary’ people, once again, various officials and leaders both of the EU itself and its Member States and prospective candidate countries were also seen in many news items. A number of trends were evident in the depiction of these officials, the first of which was that they were all men. Secondly, these men were all shown in every news item to be wearing almost identical traditionally-European styled black or dark suits. They were seen getting out of cars, walking into buildings, walking out of

buildings, shaking hands and greeting one another, and occasionally speaking, either to camera or to each other (Figure 6.22). What was especially interesting about this group of people, however, was their lack of on-screen identification. Two of the men were easily recognisable political figures, and through the transcripts of the news items' text it was confirmed that they were Tony Blair and Turkish Prime Minister Recep Erdoğan, however their names were never displayed on-screen.



Figure 6.22: Example of 'Typical' Images of EU Officials

Only four officials were identified on-screen in this analysis. One was Bahadır Kaleagasi, of the Turkish Industry and Business Association who was depicted (wearing a black suit) speaking to the camera about his opinion of Turkey's possible membership to the EU. Another of the identified men was Hartmut Nassauer, leader of the German Conservatives who was also shown speaking to the camera about the same matter. Finally, two EU officials were identified: Guenther Verheugen, the European Commissioner for Enlargement, who was depicted shaking hands and posing for a photograph with Erdoğan (Figure 6.23); and José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission, who was also shown speaking at a press conference with Erdoğan.



Figure 6.23: EU Enlargement Commissioner Guenther Verheugen Posing with Turkish Prime Minister Recep Erdoğan

Primarily, two types of setting were noted in the future enlargement news items: outdoor settings, which included street scenes and harbours; and indoor locations including parliamentary chambers, a court room and press conference rooms. Partly owing to the number of crowd scenes, streets were the most common visual setting within the news items on future EU enlargements. Unlike the 2004 enlargement coverage, however, these street scenes seldom featured old architectural façades, but were instead flanked by large concrete block buildings with very few distinguishing features.

An additional outdoor setting that was identified in one news item in particular was a harbour view looking up to a town on a hill over the harbour. The buildings of this town were dramatically different to those featured in the European street scenes discussed in the 2004 enlargement coverage, or indeed from the rather drab streets discussed above. The buildings in this particular news item were primarily white, with large gold-domed roofs and very tall gold spires, and generally looked very Islamic in

design (Figure 6.24), thus clearly being contrasted with the previous images of the 2004 enlargement which featured traditionally 'European' architecture. These future enlargement locations then can be seen to emphasise Turkey's 'Otherness' or 'exotic' non-European nature.



Figure 6.24: Image of Islamic Buildings in Future Enlargement Items

The indoor locations seen in these future enlargement news items often included rooms where press conferences were being held, and the defining features of such rooms were tables with many microphones on them. One news item depicted action taking place within a court room, as evinced by the judges' bench and docks, where the aforementioned prisoners were sitting. The final indoor location was a large amphitheatre-style room, with rows of tiered seats behind benches. Erdoğan was seen walking through this room, being greeted by other men in black suits, before the former took a position behind a rostrum at the front of the room and addressed the latter. The structure of the room combined with Erdoğan's actions indicated the location was a parliamentary chamber.

In the visual analysis of the 2004 enlargement coverage, the symbols of the EU flag and circle of stars were repeatedly used to visually represent the EU. In the future enlargement analysis, however, there were very few symbols used overall, either EU or otherwise. The EU flag was noted only twice and in both cases it was depicted alongside the red Turkish flag which features a white crescent moon and star. Another country's flag was noted in one of the other news items; in this case the flag being the Serbian red, blue and white striped flag.

Other than flags, the image of red carpet was noted in several of the news items, as the unidentified officials walked up the carpet towards buildings. Additionally, a number of black cars were frequently visible, particularly in news items concerning Erdoğan, who was seen getting in and out of the vehicles. The combination of red carpets and expensive-looking black cars arguably denoted the largely elite nature of the events, rather than focusing on civil society, for example.

6.5 INTERPRETING THE PICTURE OF EU ENLARGEMENT IN THE PACIFIC

This chapter has investigated the images and representations of the ongoing European Union enlargement process, a key feature of the EU's internal integration. Enlargement was found to be the largest topic of EU coverage in New Zealand and the second largest in the Australian television news coverage. This position of relative prominence in the local television news media has brought some interesting and often contrasting imagery to light. In particular, three key trends in the overall framings of enlargement were identified between the two countries in this case study. Firstly, it was found that the general dynamics and formal features of the enlargement coverage were broadly similar across the two countries. Secondly, these similarities were largely mirrored in the analysis of the visual images of enlargement, and finally, it was found that in contrast to these overall similarities, that in the deeper textual framings of enlargement, that is, the images created using metaphors in the language

of news, the specific images were found to be quite different in each country's television news discourse.

Firstly, the analysis revealed that while the actual volume of EU enlargement news differed between the two Pacific countries, the overall dynamics of that coverage – how it was distributed throughout the year – were almost identical. Both countries' coverage peaked in relation to the May 2004 event, and both had an increase later that year in December. The continued attention to news regarding enlargement after the major enlargement celebrations in May indicates a preference among the New Zealand and Australian television newsmakers for framing the EU in terms of enlargement; the subject of EU integration and the Union's ongoing enlargement was introduced to the world through the dramatic events of May 1st 2004, and has since become a familiar and comfortable way of representing the EU in the television news discourses of its external partners. This pattern of re-appearing themes is a common one in news discourses, because, as Gurevitch *et al.* have argued, for an item to make 'the news', "...the event must be anchored in a narrative framework that is already familiar to and recognizable by newsmen as well as by audiences".⁶⁰⁶ Lau, too, has described this trend, describing it as 'themacity', that being when "something that has been defined as news continues to be defined as news".⁶⁰⁷ Arguably, the theme of EU expansion was defined as news in May 2004, and has therefore continued to be defined as such.

The analysis of the focus of the news items revealed that in both countries the enlargement was depicted from an almost exclusively-EU perspective, with the EU as the major concern in each news item. Given the nature of enlargement, it was unsurprising to find a prominence of news items with EU matters as their major

⁶⁰⁶ Michael Gurevitch, Mark Levy, and Itzhak Roeh, "The Global Newsroom: Convergences and Diversities in the Globalisation of Television News", in *Communication and Citizenship: Journalism and the Public Sphere in the New Media Age*, Peter Dahlgren and Colin Sparks, (London: Routledge, 1991), 207.

⁶⁰⁷ Raymond Lau, "Critical Realism and News Production, *Media, Culture, and Society* 26, No. 5, (2004), 697.

concern, but the almost invisibility of enlargement news items with a connection to the domestic situations in Australia or New Zealand was more surprising. Such a focus arguably and misleadingly paints enlargement as an event with very little local significance.

The framing analysis also revealed a similar lack of domestic relevance of enlargement. Throughout all of the identified enlargement news items, the EU-theme was consistently framed as an EU political affairs matter. Although this political frame was more prominent in the New Zealand coverage, with Australia presenting a proportion of its enlargement news from an economic perspective, broadly across both countries, politics was seen to be the most effective lens through which to consider enlargement. Interestingly, social affairs news was completely absent from the enlargement news. Given the emphasis by political and business elites in both Australia and New Zealand on the political and economic ramifications of the enlargement – both for the EU and for the two Pacific countries – it was unsurprising to find a dominance of particularly the political frame. However, the lack of social affairs framing in general was somewhat unexpected, particularly in light of the documented preference for employing the ‘human angle’ in television news reports,⁶⁰⁸ and indeed the dominance of ordinary EU citizens in the actors’ visual analysis. It might have been predicted, for example, that news items may have focused on the impacts of the enlargement on the daily lives of these ordinary EU citizens. Instead, which such opportunities arose – as in, for example, the case of an item regarding the integration of ethnic Russians living in Latvia which might have considered the daily consequences and hardships for these non-citizens – the subject was addressed from a political and policy perspective, discussing the political ramifications and featuring the politically-charged protests against the existing policies.

The low levels of economically oriented enlargement news in the Pacific television news coverage is also noteworthy, because, as was discussed above, many of the

⁶⁰⁸ W. Russell Neuman, Marion Just and Anne Cligler, *Common Knowledge*, 69-72.

concerns and considered impacts of Australian and New Zealand elites regarding enlargement related to economic and trading issues. Additionally, the vital importance to both Australia and New Zealand of their trade with the EU might have indicated that this type of news would feature more prominently in the enlargement coverage, since the inclusion of ten new Member States with generally poorer economic performance levels than the existing EU-15 arguably altered the economic landscape of the EU dramatically. The impacts of including 10 new countries at once, eight of which are still arguably transition economies, were considered significant for New Zealand, as one study prior to the event noted.⁶⁰⁹ Economically, it was considered possible, for example, that the inclusion of countries like Poland into the EU's subsidies 'pool' might prompt a reduction in the levels of dairy product imports into the EU, which would substantially impact countries like New Zealand⁶¹⁰ and also arguably Australia.⁶¹¹ However, little of this dramatic economic transformation was noted in the Pacific coverage of enlargement, and there was none which explored these particular consequences.

This analysis also revealed that the leading news values assumed to underpin the enlargement coverage were similar in both New Zealand and Australia, although the Australian television news items displayed a higher proportion of conflict-based coverage. The dominance of prominence/importance and timeliness in the news reports on enlargement was relatively expected. The high peak in enlargement coverage in May (and particularly in the first two days of May), indicated the timeliness of such coverage. The higher level of conflict-oriented coverage in the

⁶⁰⁹ Milenko Petrovic and Stuart MacMillan, "EU Enlargement Research Report", *Enlargement of the European Union: Implications for New Zealand*,

<http://www.europe.canterbury.ac.nz/research/pdf/text.pdf>.

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁶¹¹ Australia is also an agriculturally-producing nation, and the majority of its exports to the EU are agricultural products, including dairy products. As such, it can be argued that if the EU extended its subsidies in areas like dairy products, this would negatively impact Australia as much as it would New Zealand. See: Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Trade in Agriculture*, http://www.dfat.gov.au/trade/negotiations/trade_in_agriculture.html.

Australian case compared to that of New Zealand is interesting, however, and it arguably demonstrates a greater preference among Australian newsmakers to consider enlargement as a less-than amicable event, and reflects the often hostile view of the EU that is typically found in the Australian media. It also perhaps accounts for the dominance of coverage of Turkey's quest for EU membership in 2015, when there was no coverage at all of the much closer 2007 accession of Romania and Bulgaria to the EU. Since Turkey's prospects for membership are considered fundamentally controversial, and were often associated with mass public demonstrations and protests, this perhaps heightened the news awareness of the subject.

As with the coverage of the EU overall, both in New Zealand and across the Asia-Pacific region more widely, the Member State actors in the enlargement coverage were prioritised over those from the EU. In the previous chapters, where EU external political affairs dominated, it was unsurprising that EU Member State actors were prioritised, as it was considered to be a likely outcome of the largely intergovernmental decision-making processes of EU external affairs. However, since enlargement is an inherently internal political affair, it was assumed that this would correspond to a greater number of EU-level actors in the coverage. This assumption was not borne out, however, and it was once again the Member State actors who were most visible. What was perhaps most interesting in this aspect of the analysis, however, was the lack of specifically identified actors. In the previous chapters, various political 'celebrities', like the leaders of the larger Member States (the UK, France, Germany and Italy, in particular) were prominent, but in the enlargement coverage it was instead the much larger, faceless entities like the Member States themselves, and the candidate countries in particular who featured. In the New Zealand coverage, which covered a significantly higher number of accession countries than did the Australian, it was Poland in particular who came to represent the 'face' of enlargement. The experience of fighting together during World War Two, particularly at high profile battles like Monte Cassino for example, has arguably provided a strong

foundation for the sound relations between the two countries.⁶¹² Additionally, after the war, Polish ex-servicemen as well as a large number of Polish orphans were relocated to New Zealand,⁶¹³ thus establishing the basis of the Polish community in New Zealand. As a result of these connections, Poland is perhaps a more familiar country to New Zealanders than Slovakia or Estonia, or indeed Lithuania – the only EU accession country not to be featured in the Pacific television news coverage of enlargement. Alternatively, perhaps Poland featured simply because it was the largest of the acceding states, and was also the one which might pose the greatest threat to New Zealand's trading relations with the EU, and this may also account for its prominence; however, the lack of economic coverage in general and the lack of domestically-focused EU news in particular would indicate that this perhaps was not the case.

The relative prominence of Turkey as a candidate country can also be argued to be a result of familiarity with the nation in the two Pacific countries, and indeed, this argument has been made in other research papers. In a study of regional newspaper and television coverage of EU-Turkey relations, Chaban *et al.* noted that the Australian and New Zealand newsmakers attention towards the Turkish question of EU membership “has...been influenced by the unique historical connection Turkey has with both Australia and New Zealand”.⁶¹⁴ This unique historical connection centres largely on the involvement of members of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZACs) in the Battle for the Gallipoli Peninsula in World War I which became a defining moment in the national identities of both Pacific countries.⁶¹⁵ Participating in the commemorations of this event each year at Gallipoli

⁶¹² New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, “Republic of Poland”, <http://www.mfat.govt.nz/Countries/Europe/Poland.php>.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁴ Natalia Chaban, Jessica Bain, Katrina Stats and Fiona Machin, “Past Imperfect, Present Continuous, Future Indefinite?: Images of Turkey in the Context of the EU Integration in Australian and New Zealand News Media”, *Insight Turkey* 7, No. 3 (2005), 4.

⁶¹⁵ Australian War Memorial, *The Anzac Day Tradition*, http://www.awm.gov.au/commemoration/anzac/anzac_tradition.htm.

has become a rite of passage for Australians and New Zealanders, and the relations between both Pacific countries and Turkey have traditionally been strong as a result of this heritage.⁶¹⁶ An alternative explanation for the prominence of Turkey in the enlargement coverage may stem from the preference among Australasian newsmakers for EU news items which incorporated levels of conflict, as the ‘Turkey question’ is typically one which is seen as controversial, and the news items featuring Turkey’s steps towards EU membership were also most often the ones which included protesting and angry crowds, thus heightening those items’ news appeal.

In addition to featuring the Member States and candidate/accession countries, the other group of actors to feature prominently in the Australian and New Zealand enlargement coverage was ‘ordinary’ EU people. This actor category was the largest overall in both countries, and it arguably counters the lack of socially-framed enlargement coverage by providing a ‘human’ face to the EU’s ongoing integration processes.

The second key trend in this analysis of enlargement coverage was found in the visual analysis in particular, where the visual imagery in both countries was found to be largely similar. Mirroring the above discussion about the actors identified in the news texts themselves, the visual analysis revealed a strong preference for featuring ordinary EU citizens in the Pacific enlargement news items. Although occasionally these people were shown as individuals, more often vast crowd scenes dominated the images of enlargement. While the prevalence of ordinary people in the news items does highlight a more humanistic perspective towards the EU, the crowd images also created a degree of inconsistency in the EU portrayals. Frequently depicting images of people does bring rather abstract matters of EU integration down to a more personable level, but at the same time, the constant depiction of these people as members of

⁶¹⁶ New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, “Turkey – Country Information Paper”, <http://www.mfat.govt.nz/Countries/Middle-East/Turkey.php>; Alexander Downer, “Relations Between Turkey and Australia”, *Interview with NTV*, Ankara, Turkey, 11 February 2007, http://www.foreignminister.gov.au/transcripts/2007/070211_ntv.html.

large, indistinct crowds added a rather generic quality to the overall EU image. Rather than 'real' individuals who were seen experiencing the actual effects of EU enlargement, the news items in Australia and New Zealand instead preferred to feature the undefined masses, perhaps suggesting a potential 'swamping' of the EU by further enlargements.

Additionally, the types of crowds themselves were contradictory. For every visual image of a crowd shown as celebrating the enlargement, cheering and singing and dancing and enjoying the progress of European integration, there was another crowd image where the EU was being protested against. The juxtaposition of these two images arguably constructed an ambiguous image of enlargement: by repeatedly contrasting celebratory crowd images who appeared to welcome an exciting EU future, against those of rioting angry crowds who appeared frightened and angered at what lay ahead, newsmakers in Australia and New Zealand cast doubt over the appropriate response to this significant European development.

The other major group of EU actors that was visible in the enlargement news reports was the 'men-in-black-suits' phenomenon. In their formal 'European' attire and frequent posing for cameras, hand-shaking and speech-giving, these men were presented as officials and leaders of the EU. Very seldom were they identified on-screen though, with the exception of the two EU-level actors – perhaps indicating an assumption by newsmakers of a lack of familiarity with these EU representatives by the news audiences. The frequent use of the often anonymous man-in-suit motif also arguably reflects the criticism of the EU as a faceless, bureaucratic entity, where one actor is indistinguishable from another, and where decisions are made by elites with little if any reference to popular opinion; creating the much discussed 'democratic deficit'.

Rather predictably, the official symbols of the EU – the flag and circle of 12 stars – were the most regularly featured visual symbols in the enlargement news items in

both Australia and New Zealand. The striking blue and gold colours of the two symbols rendered them highly conspicuous when ever they appeared; providing a visual contrast when draped in the background of a press conference, being raised prominently up a flagpole in the centre of the frame, or being waved by a child participating in the enlargement celebrations. Images of the EU flag flying proudly atop a building or from a flagpole are highly symbolic, not only representative of the Union itself, but also commenting on the nature of the Union, as flying flags are often seen to be symbolic of the health and life of an entity. Whether the two symbols are understood to denote “solidarity, harmony...perfection, completeness and unity”,⁶¹⁷ as the EU claims they do, they have, it seems, become synonymous with the European integration project, featuring in every enlargement news item in both Australia and New Zealand.

An additional visual image that was frequently noted in the news items was the use of on-screen text. In particular, much of the text appeared to highlight the linguistic diversity of the EU. Words written in languages other than English – for example Latvian, or Greek – as well as words such as “translation” or “translator” indicated the importance of language within the EU generally, and particularly as the Union expanded to include 10 new countries and a new current total of 23 official languages. For two countries with largely English-speaking populations,⁶¹⁸ the contrast between their domestic situations and the linguistic diversity of the EU clearly resonated with Australia and New Zealand newsmakers, and as such, ‘language’ become a symbol of the enlarging EU.

⁶¹⁷ European Commission, “The Symbols of the European Union”, http://europa.eu/abc/symbols/emblem/index_en.htm.

⁶¹⁸ Officially, New Zealand is multilingual, having 3 official languages: English, Maori and sign language. However, recent census data shows that 95.9 percent of the New Zealand population speak primarily English, thus warranting the claim of New Zealand being a fairly linguistically homogenous country. See: Statistics New Zealand, “QuickStats about Culture and Identity”, <http://www.stats.govt.nz/census/2006-census-data/quickstats-about-culture-identity/quickstats-about-culture-and-identity.htm?page=para011> Master. English is the only official language of Australia.

Street and harbour settings were the two most regularly seen locations of enlargement activities, and the former were either seen with old building facades lining the streets, highlighting the ‘European’ architectural features of the buildings, or were scenes on more modern streets with non-specific concrete buildings. Both types of buildings and streets represent urbanity, and a European heritage that has been built by people, as opposed to images of mountains, fields or other more natural settings. The frequency of such urban images shows a clear preference for associating Europe with human history, in clear contrast perhaps to the more rugged natural environment that New Zealand is renowned for, and the arid, dramatic landscapes for which Australia is known.

The contrast between the historical and modern street settings can also be seen as visually representative of the themes of enlargement itself: the bringing together of the ‘old’ EU-15 (old façades) with the ‘new’ Member States (modern buildings), as well as the contrast between the ‘old’ cultural heritage of Europe and the ‘new’ trajectory of the European integration. Additionally, the bridges themselves could be seen as symbolic of this bringing together of the European continent – the ‘old’ EU-15 Member States on the one side, and the new Member States on the other, now symbolically linked by bridges. The water which ran beneath these bridges may be seen as representing the EU also, as flowing water could be perceived as symbolic of the constant movement of the evolving Union.

The images of enlargement celebrations taking place on various European harbours were also visually striking. The prolific fireworks and laser lights displays and the illumination of the bridges across the harbours were seen being watched by thousands of people, and were reflected rather beautifully in the waters of the harbours. In addition to providing the ‘on-site’ evidence of enlargement taking place, images such as these were also highly dramatic, thus making them ‘good’ pictures for television.

Interestingly, many of the visual images identified in the enlargement coverage corresponded to the various official symbols used by the EU. The combination of crowds of people with the use of text to emphasise the EU's many languages, arguably visually represents of the EU's own motto: *In varietate concordia*, or United in Diversity⁶¹⁹; that is, the coming together of many individuals into a unified crowd, and the linguistic multiplicity representing the diversity of those many people more generally. Additionally, the two motifs of architectural structures and harbours – the two most commonly used images to define locations of enlargement news items – are also images which have been actively employed by the EU to represent itself. A competition held to design the euro banknotes, prior to their circulation, resulted in the different value euros each displaying an image of a bridge “reflected tranquilly on water”⁶²⁰ designed in the style of one of the key trends in European architecture; not reflecting a ‘real’ structure *per se*, but rather a generic version which encompassed the stylistic features of many. The combination of these two features – bridges and architectural styles – was considered to symbolise the “communication between the peoples of Europe”,⁶²¹ as well as “the architectural richness and unity of Europe”.⁶²² Aiello has noted that, “attempts to visually render and ultimately also to brand European identity in EU public communication have overwhelmingly revolved around this ‘diverse and colourful character’ and ‘the diversities that lie at the heart of the European project’”. Indeed, the author notes, “the notion of cultural diversity has become a prominent ‘buzzword’ in the promotion of the EU as an identity project”.⁶²³

⁶¹⁹ European Commission, “The Symbols of the European Union”. See also: Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, Article I-8, 16 December, 2004.

⁶²⁰ John Schmid, “Etching the Notes of a New European Identity”, *International Herald Tribune*, August 3, 2001, http://www.ihf.com/articles/2001/08/03/euro_ed3_.php.

⁶²¹ Denis Fitzgerald, “Designing the Euros”, *World Press Review*, http://www.worldpress.org/specials/euro/1120web-euro_design.htm.

⁶²² European Central Bank, “Interim Report to the European Monetary Institute”, 9.

⁶²³ European Commission and the Belgian Presidency, *Brussels Capital of Europe: Final Report*, 2001, http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/policy_advisers/archives/publications/docs/brussels_capital.pdf; Manuel Castells, “Communal Heavens: Identity and Meaning in the Network Society”, in *The Power of Identity*, edited by Manuel Castells, (Malden: Blackwell, 2004) cited in Giorgia Aiello, “The Appearance of Diversity”, 147.

In this analysis it seems that the EU's attempts at 'branding' its identity are at least visible in the broadcast news media of two of its external partners.

In contrast to the similarities in the formal features of the enlargement coverage, as well as the shared visual depictions of the event, the final trend that emerged in this analysis was the generally divergent metaphoric representations that were identified. There were several exceptions to this: both Australian and New Zealand television news bulletins featured conceptual metaphors depicting the EU as an ever-growing organism that just kept getting bigger, and, with its continued growth, the EU was described as also growing in strength. These images of strength and growth, however, were often contrasted by metaphors in both countries' news texts which depicted the EU's growth as stimulating new divisions within the recently reunified European continent. Wealth 'gaps' and the creation of a two-tiered Union were seen to negate the 'final closing' of Europe's divided past.

With the exception of these few examples, however, in the metaphoric analysis, the two Pacific countries' enlargement coverage was primarily characterised by differences. When describing the 2004 EU enlargement, the New Zealand television news media preferred to use imagery that denoted the joy and excitement of the May event, as well as the stability and reliability of the EU. Metaphors of parties and celebrations were common-place in the New Zealand news texts, and these were supported by descriptions of the EU as a common house which would provide protection for its new members. Additionally, the use of mechanical metaphors, creating an image of the EU as a machine, arguably added an element of mechanised efficiency to the New Zealand television news picture of the 2004 EU enlargement.

In contrast, Australian metaphoric imagery of the event instead rather negatively emphasised the elitist nature of the EU, with the frequent description of the EU as a highly exclusive club that was nearly impossible to gain access to. Further, enlargement itself was depicted as an event that could place the EU at risk, as the

newly extended borders of Europe triggered possible tidal waves of immigration which could flood the EU.

Intriguingly, many of the same metaphors that the Australian newsmakers used to depict the 2004 enlargement were also employed by New Zealand newsmakers when describing the future enlargements of the EU. In news items concerning particularly the EU's negotiations with Turkey for membership, New Zealand EU news items were found to frequently employ elitist club imagery, as well as images of the EU as a fortress, with secret 'corridors of power'. Another particularly prominent metaphor was the description of the EU as a final destination at the end of a long and tiring journey. In particular the EU was depicted as demanding difficult challenges of those on the journey towards it; it placed hurdles on the path, and when it considered the 'travellers' efforts were insufficient, then the EU was seen as happy to block their progress altogether. Further, metaphors of divisions in space that were utilised by Australian newsmakers reporting on the 2004 enlargement, were found to be a common device depicting the future enlargements in New Zealand's television news items. Turkey in particular was seen as physically separated from Europe by large cultural 'gaps' that were sometimes deemed unlikely to ever be closed.

These three broad trends that have emerged from the enlargement coverage of both Australia and New Zealand can arguably be accounted for by one key factor influencing the production of EU television news in the two countries. The patterns of sourcing are arguably an important factor in both the similarities in the two countries' coverage, and also their differences. As has been discussed previously, both New Zealand and Australian newsmakers were found to prefer internationally-produced sources of EU news items, rather than locally produced ones. Although the specific news agencies utilised were largely unidentifiable, it is assumed that given the relatively limited pool of English-language international news agencies, and particularly the limited availability of news agencies and sources producing widely available broadcast items, that there is every likelihood that the same sources were

being used by outlets in both Australia and New Zealand. This shared preference would account for the similarities in the formal features of the enlargement coverage – the focus that the news items had, their lack of domestic relevance, as well as a preference for framing the event from a primarily political perspective – but it would also arguably account for the similarity in the visual images of enlargement also, as stock images would be purchased by local news outlets to use in their reports.

Similarly, the differences in the deeper textual imagery identified in the metaphoric analysis could be accounted for by a peculiarity in the use of foreign agency news material by local outlets. It is suggested here that although the local outlets might buy wholly pre-packaged news items from the foreign agencies, that sometimes a local reporter may be used to record the voice-over report. In such cases, arguably the international material will be flavoured to some degree by a local perspective. Such perspectives arguably would not warrant a complete change in focus of a news item – as the broad similarities in enlargement coverage identified between Australia and New Zealand indicate – but would manifest in more subtle inter-textual differences, such as the conceptual metaphors employed to characterise the unfolding events. In this sense, the television news reports of enlargement from the two Pacific countries adhere to Gurevitch et al.’s argument about the localisation of globalised news:

Media maintain both global and culturally specific orientations – such as by casting far-away events in frameworks that render these events comprehensible, appealing and relevant to domestic audiences; and second, by constructing the meanings of these events in ways that are compatible with the culture and the dominant ideology of societies they serve.⁶²⁴

According to such a claim, the distinct metaphoric framings in both countries are seen to parallel the broader relationship of those countries to the EU. Although officially cordial, relations between Australia and the EU have, as has been seen in Murray’s research,⁶²⁵ been characterised by misunderstanding and at times, animosity. As such,

⁶²⁴ Michael Gurevitch, Mark Levy, and Itzhak Roeh, “The Global Newsroom”, 2006.

⁶²⁵ Philomena Murray, *Australia and the European Superpower: Engaging with the European Union*.

it is perhaps unsurprising that the specific textual descriptions of the enlarging EU in Australia may have held ambiguous and often negative imagery. Contrastingly, led by Helen Clark, the New Zealand Labour Government has followed an often 'European' path in many aspects of foreign affairs, and relations between the two parties are positive, and likewise the imagery used in television news items regarding enlargement were also broadly positive.

6.6 CONCLUSION

The EU is an organisation that exemplifies constant change and evolution. In its five decades of existence it has taken many forms, and has grown in size so that its current formation bears little resemblance to its original six member 'club'. With more applicant countries queuing to join, arguably the Union will continue to change its appearance to the outside world in the future. As outsiders with no voice in the process and yet with much at stake, members of the international community watched closely as the EU expanded in 2004, arguably through their 'window' on such events, their national news media. For these external partners of the EU, if they are to take advantages of the expanded European market, and the EU's growing influence in the world, it is imperative that they are aware of these constant evolutions, and how they change the function and capacity of the Union.

The findings of this case study indicate that there is some confusion about how to approach the EU's enlargements in New Zealand and Australia. Frequently, depictions of enlargement were contradictory and ambiguous, showing excitement about the enlargements on the one hand, and outright violence and hostility towards it on the other. Although enlargement is associated with progress and movement, occasionally images of past wars were also seen, indicating that perhaps those in the Pacific are still dwelling on the history of Europe before the evolution of the EU.

In terms of visibility, the enlargement was clearly assigned as an important event even for Europe's distant partners like New Zealand and Australia. The theme's relative prominence in the Pacific television news media pointed to its significance, and yet, the virtual absence of any domestic connection to the event indicated a real failure on the part of Australian and New Zealand newsmakers to perceive the relevance and to some extent the significance of the issue.

At the beginning of this chapter, it was suggested that the public in Australia and New Zealand viewed the impending 2004 EU enlargement with apathy, being either unaware of the event itself, or unaware of its significance for their region. The findings of this chapter have indicated that this indifference was in many ways mirrored in the television news portrayals of enlargement, with newsmakers presenting often ambiguous images. Arguably, as the EU continues to expand and develop its membership and competences, countries like New Zealand and Australia must remain aware of what these changes mean for their immediate region if they are to continue their significant relationship with the Union, however it seems that at present, such awareness is somewhat lacking.

CHAPTER 7

ALL THE WORLD'S A STAGE...BUT IS THE EU A PLAYER?:

IMAGES OF THE EU AS A GLOBAL ACTOR

“One is struck immediately by the scope of EU policies. They cover all the significant issue areas of contemporary global politics...[t]here are no other actors with a comparable range of interests, policies and relationships in the contemporary system”.

Charlotte Bretherton and John Vogler⁶²⁶

7.1 THE EU IN THE WORLD

The EU claims for itself the role of “world player”⁶²⁷ and in this role the EU’s explicit goal is to “act as a force for stability, cooperation and understanding in the wider world”.⁶²⁸ But to play a leading role in the theatre of international politics requires a particularly multi-faceted global actor. One must be able to command significant economic resources, must have influence in the realm of global politics, must be seen to be both benevolent and powerful, and importantly, must give credible performances. As an international actor, the EU is considered to be skilled in the ways of global economics, and is increasingly considered to be a political force – albeit a primarily ‘soft’ one – able to act as a foil to the often ‘hard’ performance of the top-billed United States. But reviews of this fledgling actor’s performances on the world stage have often found the EU to be lacking. All too often it is caricatured as a

⁶²⁶ Charlotte Bretherton and John Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*, 223.

⁶²⁷ European Commission, “A World-Player - The European Union’s External Relations”, *Europe on the Move*, (Belgium: European Communities, 2004).

⁶²⁸ *Ibid*, 4.

“political pygmy”,⁶²⁹ and its critics claim it should stick to its day-job as a global ‘economic muscle’, where, they claim, its expertise really lies.

The problem with the EU’s international performance is generally not necessarily its actions *per se*, but rather criticism instead tends to discuss how the Union conducts itself in the global arena, what capabilities and mechanisms it should have, what type of international actor it should be, and how effective its policies are in meeting its goals.⁶³⁰ The very nature of the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), whereby its ‘foreign policy’ is officially conducted under the auspices of pillar two of the Maastricht Treaty, has been claimed to be a system which “compounds the fragmented image of the Union as a single international actor and can only serve to diminish the EU’s credibility for third countries”.⁶³¹ By compartmentalising EU foreign policy into the Union’s intergovernmental pillar, arguably the architects of Europe have necessarily confused the conduct of EU external relations,⁶³² because in addition to the diplomatic tools at its disposal under pillar two, the EU also chooses to use its pooled economic might to influence international relations. Indeed, in disposing humanitarian and development aid, imposing sanctions, and by offering incentives for its nearest neighbours to transform themselves into suitable candidates for EU membership, the EU has arguably reshaped traditional understandings of foreign policy.⁶³³ As one commentator noted, while the US seems only to understand international power and influence through military might, “Europeans understand

⁶²⁹ Martin Walker, “Europe: Superstate or Superpower?”, *World Policy Journal* XVII, No. 4, (2000/2001). 7

⁶³⁰ In addition to those cited subsequently, see also: Roy Ginsberg, *The European Union in International Politics: Baptism by Fire*, (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001).

⁶³¹ Martin Holland, “Introduction: The First Decade”, in *Common Foreign and Security Policy: The First Ten Years*, edited by Martin Holland, (2nd Edition), (London and New York: Continuum, 2004), 1.

⁶³² *Ibid.*, 2. See also: Jan Zielonka, “Constraints, Opportunities and Choices in European Foreign Policy”, in *Paradoxes of EU Foreign Policy*, edited by Jan Zielonka, (London: Kluwer Law International, 1998), 5.

⁶³³ *Ibid.*, 2. See also: Richard Rosencrance, “The European Union: A New Type of International Actor”, in *Paradoxes of EU Foreign Policy*, edited by Jan Zielonka.

power as overall leverage...[and] through massive deployments of ‘soft power’ (such as economic clout and cultural appeal) Europe has made hard power less necessary”.⁶³⁴

One of the fundamental difficulties in the conduct of EU foreign policy, though, is the fact that while EU Member States are embedded in a system of pooled sovereignty and cooperation in many realms including foreign policy, the individual states retain the right to act autonomously in external affairs, and have chosen to do so in a number of instances.⁶³⁵ Notably, divisions emerged between the Member States about the US-led war in Iraq, with the United Kingdom, Spain,⁶³⁶ Italy and EU-newcomer Poland all supporting the American administration’s approach. France and Germany, among others, on the other hand were particularly vocal in their distaste of the Iraq action,⁶³⁷ and the failure of the Member States to produce a common position on the unfolding events was considered by many to be a nail in the coffin of CFSP,⁶³⁸ even if this presumed death was premature. Added to the confusion is the perennial question about just who represents the EU’s common positions, once such positions have been formulated. Addressing this, the Amsterdam Treaty created the post of a High Representative for CFSP to help provide leadership for the EU at the international level.⁶³⁹ Despite the high-level appointment of Javier Solana – former Spanish

⁶³⁴ Parag Khanna, “The Metrosexual Superpower”, 67.

⁶³⁵ Michael Smith, “Implementation: Making the EU’s International Relations Work”, in *International Relations and the European Union*, edited by Christopher Hill and Michael Smith, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 155.

⁶³⁶ While Spain initially supported the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, after the Madrid train bombings and the subsequent election to power of the Socialist Party in early 2004, Spain pulled its troops out of Iraq.

⁶³⁷ Philip Gordon and Jeremy Shapiro, *Allies at War: America, Europe and the Crisis Over Iraq*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2004), 2.

⁶³⁸ Christopher Hill, “Pushing the Stone Uphill: The Endless Trials of Europe’s Common Foreign Policy”, in *More than a Dwarf? ‘Fornet’ Essays on Europe’s Foreign Policy, Security and Defence* edited by Krassimir Nikolov, (Sofia: Bulgarian European Community Studies Association, 2004), 16, 19.

⁶³⁹ Brian Crowe, “A Common European Foreign Policy After Iraq?”, in *Common Foreign and Security Policy*, edited by Martin Holland, 33.

Foreign Minister and former NATO Secretary-General – to this post, it has thus far proven unable to fully address the confusion of voices seen to represent the Union on the world stage,⁶⁴⁰ primarily due to the limits on the authority of the High Representative.⁶⁴¹

Thus, clearly there are challenges to the execution – and indeed the development of – a cohesive European foreign policy, and yet despite these hurdles the EU does currently play a vital role in many areas of the international arena. Commanding significant resources has allowed the EU to become the world's largest donor of humanitarian and development aid;⁶⁴² through its trading relationships the EU has persuaded many of its partners to adopt its own political standards, including democracy, rule of law, and human rights⁶⁴³; and corresponding to both of these powerful foreign policy tools, the EU also has the ability to remove its aid and trade preferences in the form of sanctions - thus rounding out its 'carrot and stick' approach to much of its external relations activity.⁶⁴⁴ Additionally, while it may not have its own military force in the traditional sense, the EU has deployed peacekeeping troops in Macedonia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, as well as more recently to Afghanistan and Iraq,⁶⁴⁵ and has established 15 new 'battle-groups' that are currently ready for deployment.

Unquestionably, the EU does play an important role in international affairs then, and this chapter seeks to investigate how that role is perceived outside the EU, and in particular in the television news media of New Zealand and Australia. It is argued that

⁶⁴⁰ Martin Holland, "Introduction", 1-2.

⁶⁴¹ Brian Crowe, "A Common European Foreign Policy After Iraq?", 37.

⁶⁴² Benita Ferrero-Waldner, "The European Union and New Zealand: New Perspectives", 5.

⁶⁴³ Marcela Szymanski and Michael Smith, "Coherence and Conditionality in EU Foreign Policy: Negotiating the EU-Mexico Global Agreement", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 43, No. 1, (2005).

⁶⁴⁴ Michael Smith, "Implementation", 168.

⁶⁴⁵ Bastian Giegerich and William Wallace, "Not Such a Soft Power: The External Deployment of European Forces", in *More than a Dwarf?* edited by Krassimir Nikolov, 111, 118.

investigations of this kind may prove beneficial to the EU as it continues its struggle to not only assert its particular role on the world stage, but also to draw attention to its current performances and to provide feedback to the EU on the perceptions of its often troubled external policy.

Chapter 5 revealed that the theme of EU international relations was the leading one of EU television news across the Asia-Pacific region as a whole. This chapter picks up on this prominent framing and provides a more detailed analysis of the EU's image as it is constructed by the Pacific television news media within this theme. The two countries included in the comparison are considered to be particularly instructive as case studies because although New Zealand and Australia have similar historical and cultural contexts, their divergent positions in many areas of international relations suggest that subtle differences in the television news framings of the EU may emerge. The chapter first outlines the formal features of the EU's external relations coverage in the two Pacific countries, before moving to an analysis of the metaphoric and visual imagery used in the relevant news items to depict EU foreign affairs action. Finally, these identified features are discussed in order to more fully reveal what type of international actor the EU is portrayed to be in the television news media of two of its external partners.

7.2 FORMAL FEATURES OF THE EU'S EXTERNAL AFFAIRS' COVERAGE

7.2.1 Volume and Dynamics

Across the Asia-Pacific countries as a whole, EU international relations coverage received the highest volume of television news attention, although in New Zealand, the subject received marginally less attention than did enlargement coverage. In Australia international relations was the largest EU news topic, receiving a little over 44 percent of the Australian total. In New Zealand, the subject accounted for 27

percent of all EU news items. Figure 7.1 displays the distribution of the topic across the 12 month monitoring period in both Pacific countries.

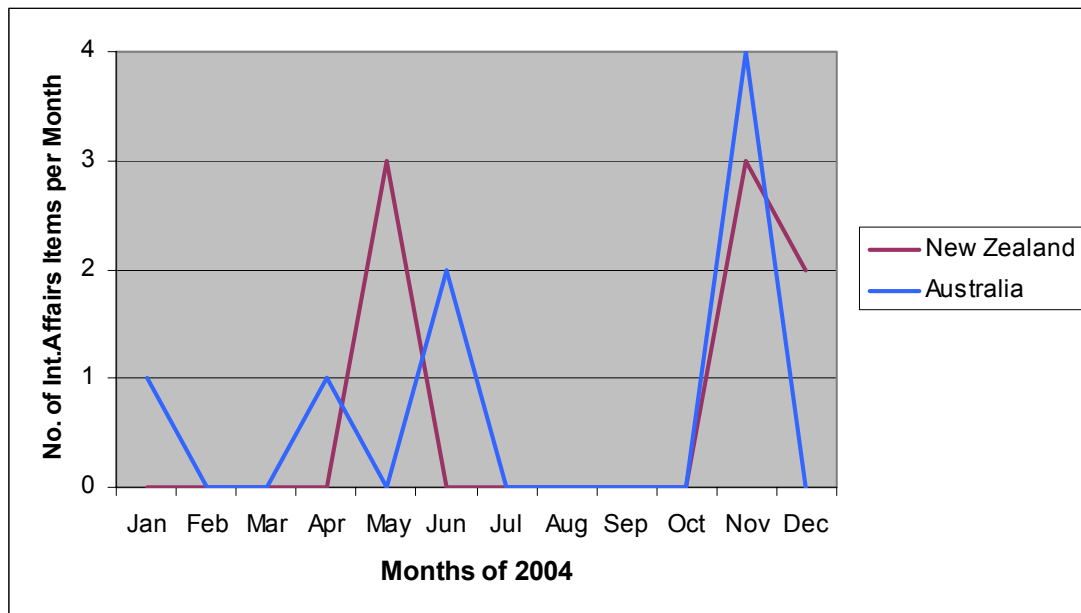


Figure 7.1: Dynamics of EU International Relations Coverage in New Zealand and Australia

As the above chart shows, both countries' international affairs coverage broadly followed the tendency for often erratic EU coverage levels. There were differences between the two countries, however. The Australian coverage demonstrated a slightly higher level of consistency throughout the year, while in the New Zealand case, the topic was most often invisible, with three periods of high intensity of coverage (May, November and December). Australia's major coverage peak was in November, and a smaller spike also occurred in June. The greater attention in both countries' television news bulletins in November corresponded primarily to two events; the negotiated agreement between the EU and Iran on the latter's cessation of its uranium enrichment programme, and the Ukraine presidential election crisis, in which the EU played a mediating role. These two events comprised all of the EU international affairs' news in the Australian November coverage, while in New Zealand coverage was also given to the EU's position on the Iraq war. The June coverage of the EU's global affairs'

role in Australia related to this latter event – in June 2004, US President George Bush held high-level meetings with European Union leaders to discuss the EU’s role in the reconstruction of Iraq. The New Zealand spike in May related to conflict in the Rafah area of the Gaza strip, and also to the death sentences imposed on several international health workers in Libya.

7.2.2 Focus of Domesticity

For an international actor like the EU, still struggling to assert and define its role in the world, strengthening its relationships with its partners abroad is arguably key to helping to establish this role. In this regard, investigating to what extent the EU as an international actor was seen to interact and engage with the two Pacific countries in this case study was important. Figure 7.2 shows the analysis of the focus of domesticity in the EU international relations coverage.

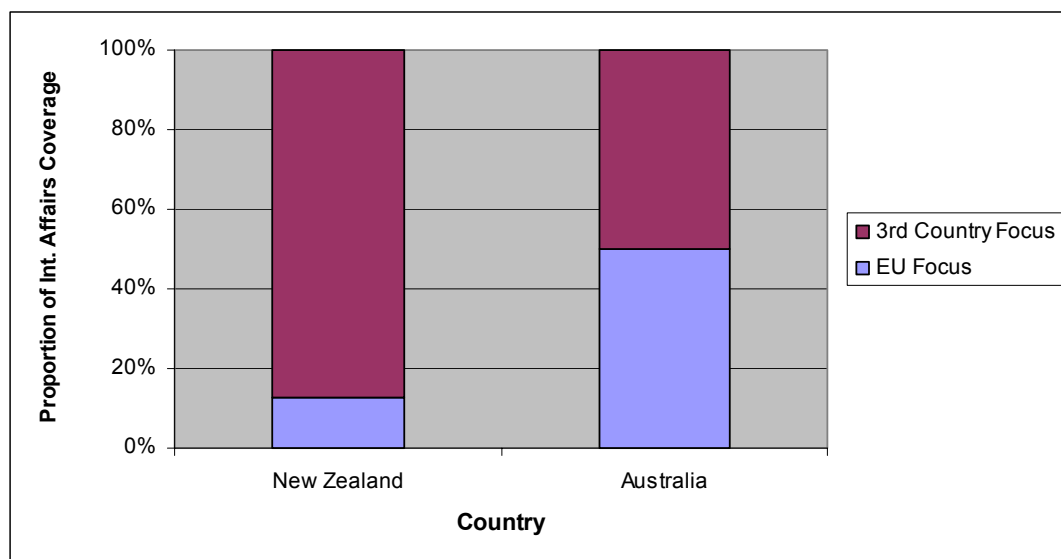


Figure 7.2: Focus of Domesticity of EU International Affairs Coverage, New Zealand and Australia

As can be seen above, none of the EU foreign affairs’ news was presented on the Pacific television news bulletins from either a New Zealand or Australian-focused manner. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the international focus of this particular news

topic, the majority of EU foreign affairs news was presented from either the perspective of the EU itself or from the perspective of a third country. The latter focus was particularly prominent in the New Zealand case, where it accounted for almost 90 percent of the total international affairs coverage, while in Australia the split between the two foci was even, with 50 percent 3rd country and 50 percent EU focused news. Broadly then, the 3rd country perspective was the most common focus of EU international affairs news across the two Pacific countries. The absence of any local ‘hook’ or comparative link arguably further distances the EU from both New Zealand and Australia’s international roles.

7.2.3 Degree of Centrality

How important the EU was seen to be in a news item was considered to be a fundamental expression of its global affairs role. Figure 7.3 shows the analysis of the degree of centrality of the EU in international affairs news items.

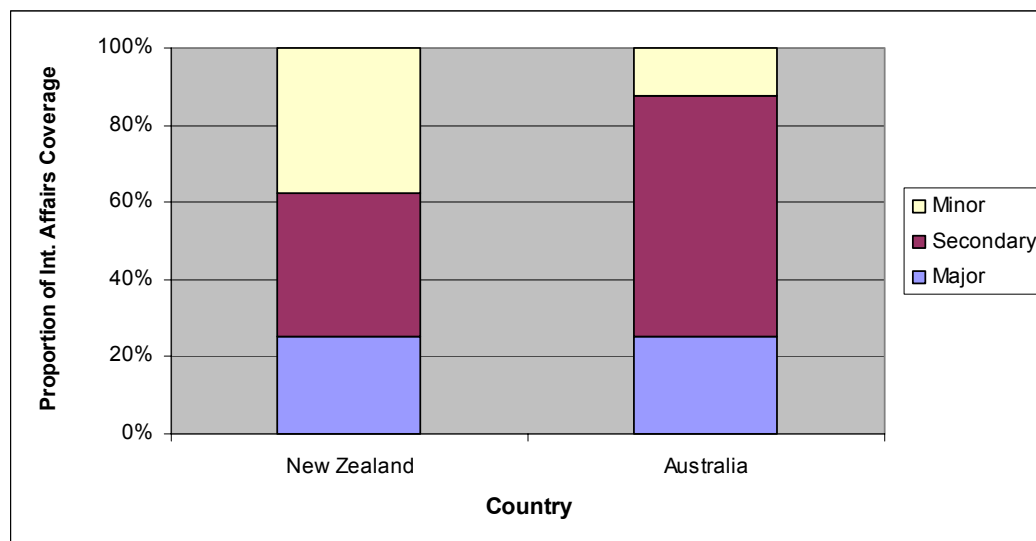


Figure 7.3: Centrality of the EU in International Affairs Coverage, New Zealand and Australia

Several patterns emerged in this analysis, as is evident in the above chart. Firstly, in both New Zealand and Australia, the EU as the major focus of a news item was only

present in 25 percent of all international affairs news items. This is particularly interesting given the findings of the overall television news coverage in both countries, in which the EU as a major focus was most common (see Chapter 5, Figure 5.10). In an international affairs' capacity, the EU then is much less often considered to be the primary actor. Instead, the EU was found more likely to be the secondary or minor focus of an international affairs news item, as for example, in one news item regarding the Ukraine presidential election crisis where the EU was mentioned as an additional international actor seeking to play a mediating role in the crisis. In the Australian case, the focus of the EU as a secondary actor was much more dominant, accounting for a little over 60 percent of the total foreign affairs coverage, while in New Zealand, the split between the additional two foci was more even with 37 percent secondary and 38 percent minor references to the Union.

7.2.4 Themes of EU International Affairs

The specific areas of EU engagement were also of interest in this analysis, to see where the EU is considered to play an important international role. Several of these international affairs themes were addressed in the above analysis of the monthly distribution of coverage, but Figure 7.4 depicts all of the identified themes of EU foreign affairs activity.

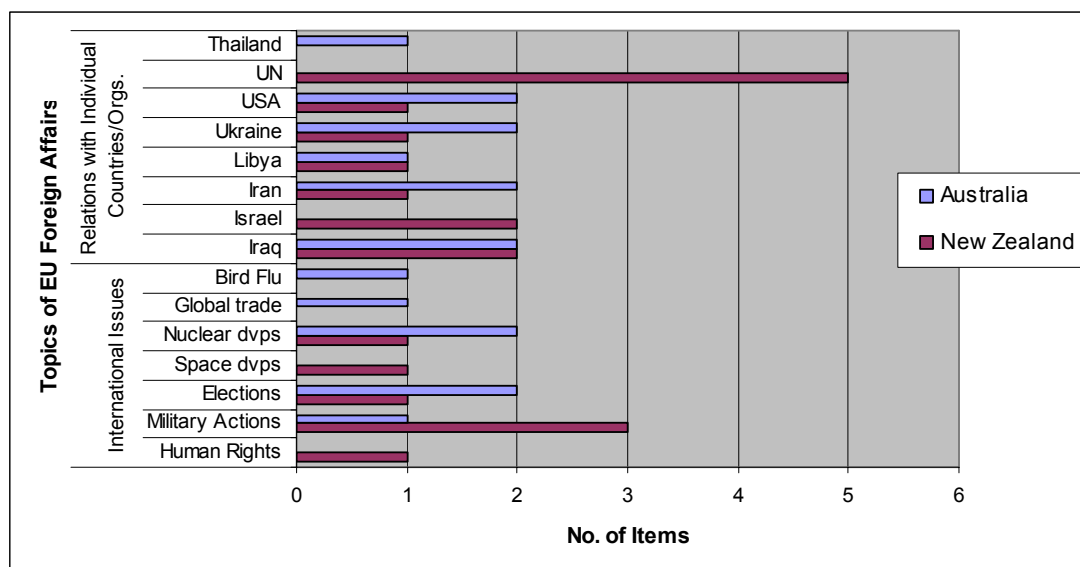


Figure 7.4: Themes/Topics of EU International Affairs Coverage, New Zealand and Australia

Broadly, two thematic categories were identified in this analysis: the EU’s bilateral relations with individual countries; and more generally, the EU’s involvement in various high profile global issues. Within the latter category, the EU’s involvements in international elections, with global nuclear weapons issues, and with international military actions were most prominent. While in New Zealand the EU’s involvement in global military actions was the single largest topic within this thematic category, in Australia, the EU’s involvement with international nuclear developments and elections were the highest rating themes. In the other thematic category – the EU’s bilateral relationships – New Zealand television news prioritised the EU’s interactions with the countries of the Middle East, and specifically Iran, Iraq and Israel. Additionally, the New Zealand television news coverage also featured a high number of items showing the EU engaged or acting with the United Nations (UN), which was not replicated in the Australian coverage; an omission that is at odds with the EU’s own policy of “effective multilateralism”, whereby the EU cooperates as a matter of course with UN actions. Similarly to the New Zealand coverage, bilateral relations with Iran did feature in Australia, however it was the Union’s relations with the Ukraine and with the USA that were more prominent.

7.2.5 Primary Frames

As can be seen then, the themes of EU international affairs activity were relatively diverse; the EU was shown to be engaged with a variety of countries and organisations, as well as involved in several issues of global priority. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, a common criticism targeted at the EU is that in its international affairs conduct it is an economic ‘giant’ and a political ‘pygmy’; that is, that its only real power lies in its unified economic policy and that it has little real political influence. In light of this, it was interesting to analyse the specific spheres of EU international affairs coverage portrayed on New Zealand and Australian television news bulletins to determine whether a more traditional foreign policy role for the EU was prominent, or whether these newer and perhaps ‘softer’ roles featured. Figure 7.5 depicts the breakdown of EU international affairs coverage into the three primary frames: EU political affairs, economic affairs and social affairs.

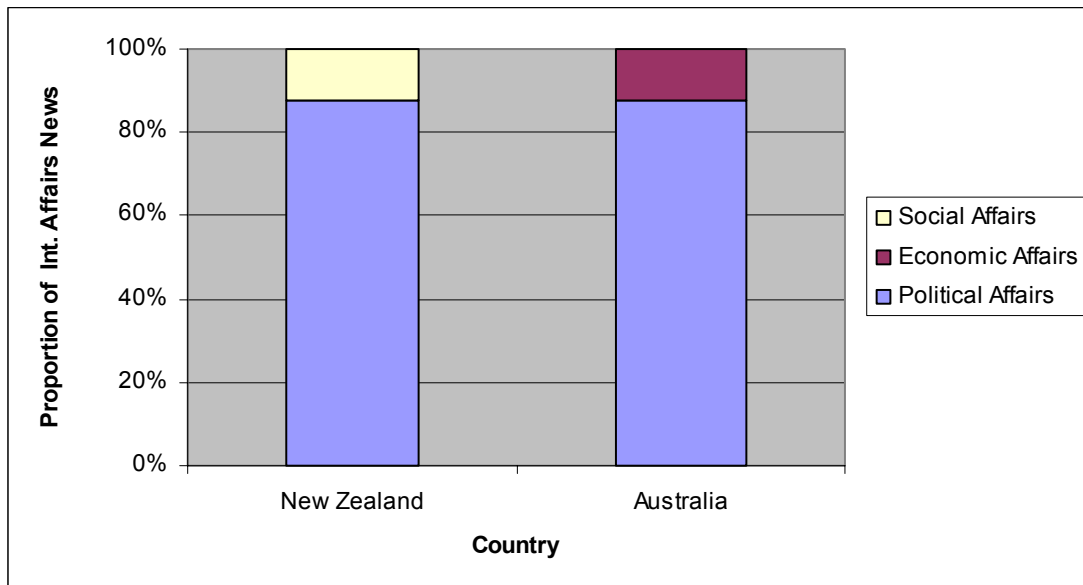


Figure 7.5: Primary Frames of EU International Affairs Coverage, New Zealand and Australia

Despite the criticisms of the EU, it was generally expected that the political spheres of foreign policy action would be prioritised by the New Zealand and Australian

newsmakers in covering the EU as a global affairs actor, given that these are considered to be the more traditional realm of external affairs. Indeed, in both countries the political frame accounted for 87 percent of the total international affairs coverage. In New Zealand, a single social affairs news item was identified, and in Australia a single economic affairs item.

7.2.6 Character of News

As with the general analysis of the EU television news items, it was important in this case study to understand what news values underlay EU international affairs coverage – what aspects of the news item triggered the television news attention. Figure 7.6 shows the analysis of the character of EU international affairs coverage for both countries, according to the six news values categorisation: prominence/importance, timeliness, conflict/controversy, human interest, the unusual and cultural proximity.

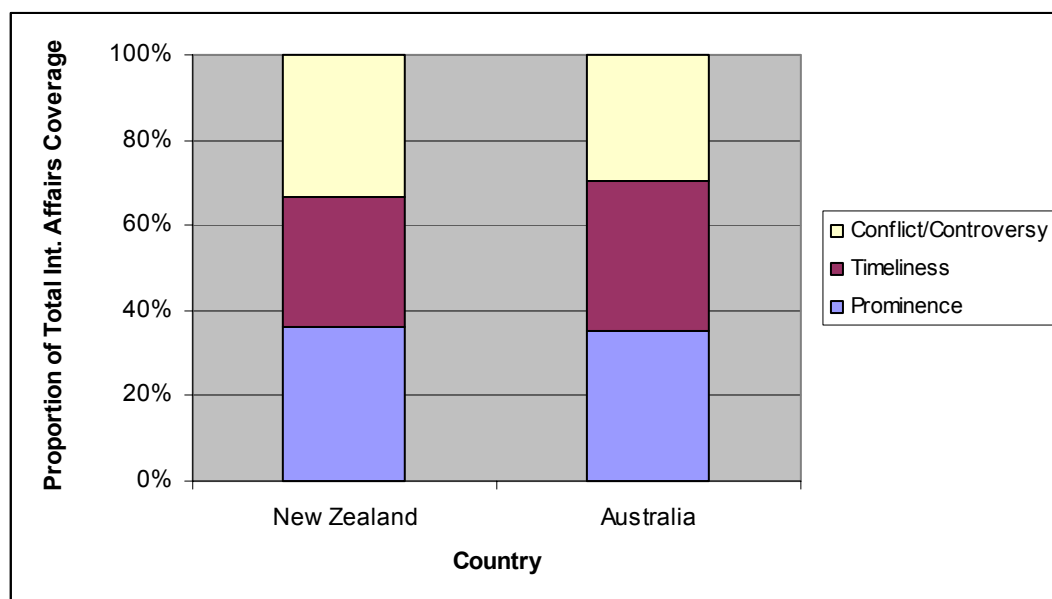


Figure 7.6: Character of EU International Relations Coverage, New Zealand and Australia

Interestingly, despite their different themes of EU coverage, both New Zealand and Australia were found to share almost identical patterns of news values in their international affairs coverage. No one particular news value defined the portrayal of EU global affairs news in New Zealand and Australian television news, instead, it was more likely that a featured news item would be considered prominent, timely and conflict-based. Indeed, the proportional distribution of these news values was fairly even in both countries: prominence/importance was the most frequently identified news value with 37 percent and 36 percent for New Zealand and Australia respectively, while conflict was noted marginally more often in the New Zealand coverage and timeliness was slightly more apparent in the Australian.

7.2.7 Actors

Despite having established the position of a High Representative for CFSP, as discussed previously, the EU is still plagued by complaints about the number of actors speaking on its behalf. Indeed, the previous chapters of this thesis have shown not only a multitude of actors seen to represent the EU in the New Zealand television news coverage as well as that of the wider Asia-Pacific region, but also a dominance of Member State actors within this. Figure 7.7 shows the analysis of the different actors representing the EU in its foreign affairs coverage.

Several trends are apparent from the below chart. Firstly, it is clear from Figure 7.7 that the Australian EU foreign affairs coverage featured a much greater diversity of EU actors than did the New Zealand coverage. Secondly, both countries' coverage featured a number of quite generically-named actors, in particular, the category 'EU leaders' which was the largest actor-category overall, and particularly in the New Zealand coverage. Determining exactly which actors were meant by this rather vague label was often difficult as it could arguably have been used to refer to the leaders of EU Member States, the leaders of various EU institutions, specific EU Commissioners, or indeed a combination of all of these. No specifics were given in

either country when referring to this cluster, and it arguably provides little information to the average television news viewer as to the specific actors involved in the various international actions of the EU. The only other EU actor that was identified in both the New Zealand and Australian coverage was UK Prime Minister Tony Blair, who was mentioned once in connection with the EU's global actions in each Pacific country's television news bulletins.

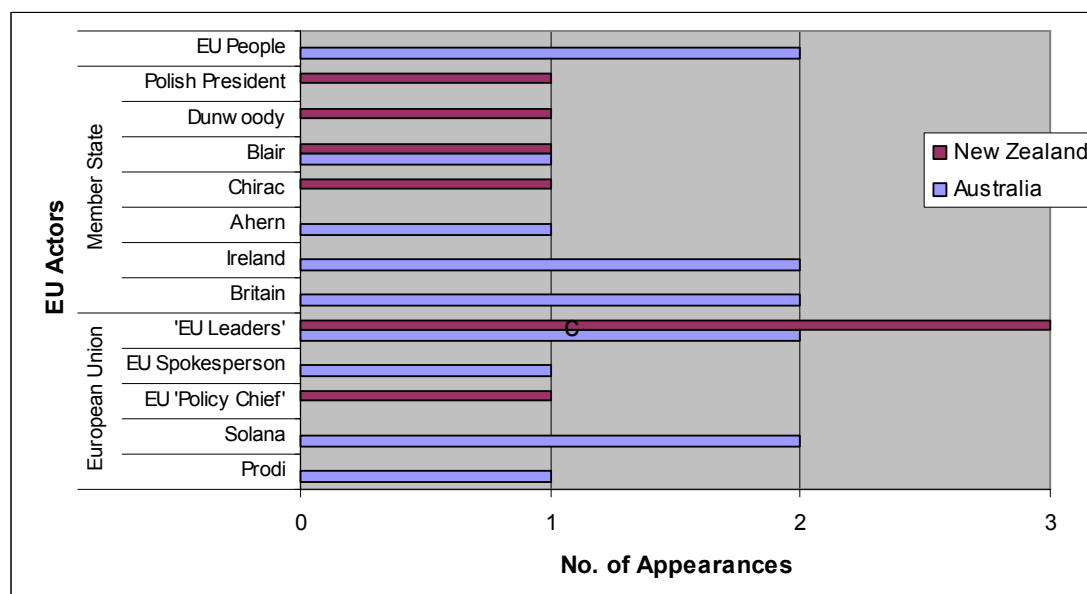


Figure 7.7: EU Actors in International Affairs Coverage, New Zealand and Australia

In New Zealand, references to generic or indiscernible actors were more common than those actually identified. In addition to the dominance of the 'EU leaders' category, reference to the 'EU's policy chief' was mentioned in an EU international affairs news item. Scholars of EU studies will know that no such actor as the 'EU's policy chief' exists. In the context of the news item itself, which discussed the EU's involvement in the mediation of a solution to the Ukraine's presidential election crisis, someone with a reasonable level of EU knowledge may be able to presume that this reference was in fact intended to denote the EU's High Representative for CFSP, who is sometimes (unofficially) referred to as the EU's 'foreign policy chief'. However, given the level of specific EU knowledge that the average New Zealand television

news consumer has, it is unlikely that this process of deciphering would have been possible.⁶⁴⁶ Four other EU actors appeared in the New Zealand coverage of the EU's international affairs, and all were EU Member State actors. The previously mentioned Tony Blair appeared, as did French President Jacques Chirac, and British MP Gwyneth Dunwoody. The Polish President was also mentioned once, although only by title and not by name.

The Australian EU international relations coverage featured a high number and greater diversity of EU actors, and included in this were the only two European Union actors to be named: then Commission President Romano Prodi featured once, and High Representative for CFSP, Javier Solana appeared twice. While these numbers are low – an indication of the lack of importance arguably afforded EU news in the Australian television news space generally – the fact that these two actors were featured does indicate an awareness by Australian newsmakers of their very existence, particularly since the actors were not featured in the New Zealand coverage. EU Member States, Britain and Ireland, were both noted in the Australian television news, as were the two countries' leaders at the time, Tony Blair and Bertie Ahern. Finally, in the Australian coverage, the category of unnamed EU 'people' was commonly identified.

7.3 IMAGES OF THE EU AS A GLOBAL ACTOR: METAPHORIC AND VISUAL IMAGERY OF THE EU'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS

As with the previous case study discussed in Chapter 6, this chapter also investigates the various images of the EU as produced in the metaphors of the language of news. Metaphorical categorisations, are considered to be especially vivid and influential in matters like foreign affairs, and indeed Lakoff has argued that metaphorical thought is

⁶⁴⁶ For information regarding New Zealanders' knowledge and perceptions of the EU, see: Natalia Chaban and Martin Holland, "The EU Through the Eyes of the Asia-Pacific".

one of the leading ways in which the general public understand international affairs, claiming that “[t]here is an extensive, and mostly unconscious, system of metaphor that we use automatically and unreflectively to understand complexities and abstractions. Part of this system is devoted to understanding international relations”.⁶⁴⁷ In addition to the powerful metaphoric images that were anticipated in the EU international affairs coverage, it was expected that a range of potent visual images would be identified also, in light of the themes of EU foreign action which involved several global ‘hot spots’ and the consistent element of controversy in the coverage, and thus would potentially produce dramatic visual accounts of the conflicts.

In this particular case study, the target concept of metaphors is the EU as an actor in international affairs. Metaphors were identified when they referred either to the EU, or to its various components depicted as acting on behalf of the Union, including the European Commission, Member States (both existing and new post-2004 enlargement), as well as accession candidates and the leaders of those countries. In the visual imagery, all visually represented actors, places and symbols were identified, so as to gather a broader understanding of the images that are associated with the EU’s foreign policy actions in general, and not just the activities of EU representatives within that sphere in particular.

A total of 34 metaphors were identified across both countries’ EU foreign affairs data sets – a much lower volume than the enlargement case study discussed in the previous chapter. A total of 10 news items from both New Zealand and Australia were analysed for their visual images of the EU.⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴⁷ George Lakoff, *Metaphor in Politics*, 9.

⁶⁴⁸ As with the enlargement case study, due to different data collection methods in the Australian and New Zealand case, and to technical difficulties in some of the New Zealand recordings, only 10 of the possible 16 news items pertaining to the EU’s international affairs were available.

Broadly, both the metaphoric representations and the visual images of the EU as a global actor were similar in New Zealand and Australia, despite the variations in the specific themes within the topic. The remainder of the chapter discusses these similar images, and brings the two types of imagery together to form a more complete image of how the EU as an international actor is viewed from outside.

7.3.1 Metaphors of the EU on the World Stage

Several shared clusters of metaphors were identified in this analysis across the two countries. In particular, metaphors conceptualising the EU as a person were noted and they depicted the globally-active EU as a person engaged in human relationships, as an actor on stage, and as a person involved in games, fighting and occasionally even outright wars.

The depiction of states or state-like entities is a common metaphoric device, used primarily for bringing inanimate or abstract notions into the more readily comprehensible concepts of human motivations, characteristics and activities.⁶⁴⁹ In particular, Lakoff has noted the tendency in foreign policy discourse for conceptualising a state as a person.⁶⁵⁰ Although the EU itself is not a single state, the ‘state-like’ qualities of the EU have been noted in EU studies literature.⁶⁵¹ From this, it can be inferred that the EU could also be metaphorically conceptualised as a ‘person’.

As a person then, it is not unexpected to find the EU engaged in interpersonal relationships with its partners abroad, and this was a common representation in both New Zealand and Australia. In New Zealand, the EU was sometimes represented as

⁶⁴⁹ Raymond Gozzi, *The Power of Metaphor in the Age of Electronic Media*, (Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press, 1999). 51; George Lakoff, and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors we Live By*, 33-34.

⁶⁵⁰ George Lakoff, *Metaphor in Politics*.

⁶⁵¹ For example see: Ian Manners and Richard Whitman, “Towards Identifying the International Identity of the European Union”, 237.

an extended family, but it was not always a happy one. While other members of the family “gathered for a *family photo*”,⁶⁵² French President Jacques Chirac was described as being noticeably absent from the picture. Relations between the EU ‘family’ and its other partners were also sometimes less than perfect. The EU’s intention to establish a satellite system in space appeared to cause problems between it and its “*frenemy*”⁶⁵³, the United States, with one New Zealand television news item noting that this issue was likely to “worsen already *strained relations*”⁶⁵⁴ between the two international powers. Australian television newsmakers were inclined to assess the relationship between the EU and US more positively, with one item in particular describing the EU giving the US a “*warm welcome*”⁶⁵⁵ when President Bush met with European leaders. The occasional difficulties in the EU-US relationship did not appear to mar the EU’s relations with other countries, however. The Middle East, and Iran and Iraq in particular, seemed so taken with the EU that marriage and long term commitment appeared to be on the cards for their relationships. Australian television news showed that the EU had already “*welcomed a promise* by Iran”⁶⁵⁶ which, reminiscent of wedding vows, the latter had pledged to “*honour*”,⁶⁵⁷ while in New Zealand it was seen that Iraq had it proposed that it and the EU become “fully *engaged*”⁶⁵⁸ with one another. Wedding bells in the future for the EU, perhaps?

⁶⁵² TV1, “The looming battle in Fallujah comes despite a warning from the United Nations chief”, *One News*, 6 November 2004.

⁶⁵³ Natalia Chaban, Jessica Bain, and Katrina Stats, “‘Frenemies’?: Images of the US-EU Relations in Australasian Media, *Journal of Critical Policy Analysis* 1, (2007).

⁶⁵⁴ TV1, “Europe’s most ambitious space program yet looks set to worsen already strained relations with the United States”, *One News*, 11 December 2004.

⁶⁵⁵ ABC, “US President, George W Bush, has arrived in Ireland to drum up more help from the European Union for the ongoing work in Iraq”, *ABC News*, 26 June 2004.

⁶⁵⁶ ABC, “The European Union has welcomed a promise by Iran to suspend most of its uranium enrichment program”, *ABC News*, 15 November 2004.

⁶⁵⁷ ABC, “Iran says it will honour its promise to the European Union to suspend uranium enrichment before the International Atomic Energy Agency meets tonight”, *ABC News*, 22 November 2004.

⁶⁵⁸ TV1, “The looming battle in Fallujah...”.

If that was an exciting event to look forward to in the EU's life, its current undertakings in the global 'arena' were also seen to be drawing a crowd. In both New Zealand and Australian television news on the EU's foreign affairs, the EU was sometimes depicted as a performer or member of a theatre group. The EU was described by the New Zealand television news media as "the *new player* in orbit"⁶⁵⁹ when it took steps to rival America's dominance in space arena. Indicating that it might suffer from stage-fright, the EU was shown to be feeling very anxious "*behind the scenes*"⁶⁶⁰ before a new international 'show' was about to open in Iraq. In Australia, the EU was often not so much the performer on stage as it was one of the crew members working tirelessly to get the 'show' of international politics underway. The EU "*roll[ed] out the red carpet*"⁶⁶¹ for Libya after European 'make-up artists' did an extreme political "*make-over*"⁶⁶² on the reformed African state.

As is the nature of international politics though, metaphors relating to the EU's foreign engagements were often associated with conflicts and disputes, and this brought to light a variety of metaphors associated with competitions, fighting and sometimes even outright wars in both the New Zealand and Australian television news space. In New Zealand, the disputes of the EU often began in games or competitions, where the EU would sometimes "*rival*"⁶⁶³ other international actors like the US, but these simple rivalries soon escalated when, in one situation, disagreements became a shoving match when the US made plans "to *jam*"⁶⁶⁴ the EU's satellite ventures because they were perceived to encroach on the US's dominance in that sphere. The pushing soon became more violent, and the EU "*came under fire* from

⁶⁵⁹ TV1, "Europe's most ambitious space program yet..."

⁶⁶⁰ TV1, "The looming battle in Fallujah..."

⁶⁶¹ ABC, "Libya's Colonel Gaddafi is making his first trip to Europe for 15 years", *ABC News*, 28 April 2004.

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶⁶³ TV1, "Europe's most ambitious space program yet..."

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

America”,⁶⁶⁵ and it was considered that the “*fall out* could be *damaging*” for the EU.⁶⁶⁶ In the Australian television news, the EU was seldom under attack, and instead was often seen to be instigating the battles. In one Australian depiction, the EU was pictured as a group of willing army recruits that had been “*drum[med] up*”⁶⁶⁷ to help with the US’s battle plans, and this EU ‘army’ was seen to now “*stand ready*”⁶⁶⁸ to ensure that Libya continued its path of reform. Safeguarding its citizens was of great importance to the EU, and it was prepared to “*halt*”⁶⁶⁹ the movements of Thailand in order “*to protect* the interests of [EU] farmers”.⁶⁷⁰ In New Zealand, the EU sometimes went further than just military blockades, and in one instance an EU led ‘battalion’ “*attacked*”⁶⁷¹ Israel when it invaded Rafah. But sometimes these EU ‘advances’ were not described as wholly successful, at least by the Australian television newsmakers; for example, in attempting to “*break the impasse*”⁶⁷² in the Ukraine the EU ‘army’ “*didn’t get far*”⁶⁷³ and made “*little progress*”⁶⁷⁴ in its movements. This notion of movement was also a relatively common metaphoric thread throughout the New Zealand television news on EU global affairs. The EU was described as being on a ‘mission’ in its “*venture into orbit*”,⁶⁷⁵ but this “*leap for the stars*”⁶⁷⁶ was considered to be a “highly *controversial*”⁶⁷⁷ movement.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁶ TV1, “The looming battle in Fallujah...”.

⁶⁶⁷ ABC, “US President, George W Bush, has arrived in Ireland...”.

⁶⁶⁸ ABC, “Libya's Colonel Gaddafi is making his first trip to Europe...”.

⁶⁶⁹ ABC, “Several Asian countries, as well as the European Union, have joined Japan in halting Thai imports”, *ABC News*, 24 January 2004.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷¹ TV1, “A massive military operation by Israel that’s seen homes demolished and two children shot while hanging out washing has been condemned...”, *One News*, 19 May 2004.

⁶⁷² ABC, “Ukraine’s Parliament will hold an emergency session tomorrow to discuss the political chaos caused by Sunday's disputed presidential election”, *ABC News*, 27 November 2004.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷⁵ TV1, “Europe’s most ambitious space program yet...”.

⁶⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

In New Zealand, the EU was not always depicted as an ‘army’ but sometimes also as a policeman or judge in court, ‘defending’ the world’s victims through legal proceedings, and reflecting the EU’s pronounced political conditionality encapsulated in the Maastricht Treaty. Passing judgement on the actions of Israel when it invaded the Rafah area of Palestine, the ‘honourable EU presiding’ “*condemned*”⁶⁷⁸ Israel for what it believed to be an illegal action. Libya too, felt the wrath of the EU courts when it was also “*condemned*”⁶⁷⁹ for human rights abuses.

7.3.2 Visualising the EU as a Global Affairs Actor

As with the metaphoric analysis, in the visual images that were portrayed, New Zealand and Australian television news reports on the EU’s international affairs were found to be broadly similar. Specific attention was given to the images of *people*, the *places* of the events and the various *symbols* and *objects* that were seen to represent the EU. Rather surprisingly though, many of the visual images identified in the international affairs analysis were not images which represented the EU necessarily. However, they were images which were associated with the EU’s international actions in that they represented the people and places that the EU was involved and interacting with, so it is therefore pertinent to examine the range of images that emerged, to determine how they contribute to the construction of an image of the EU as an international actor.

Three specific categories of people were evident in the visual images of EU international affairs: officials (specifically leaders of Member States or the EU institutions, or the leaders of countries and institutions with which the EU was interacting), military and police personnel, and ordinary citizens. While in the

⁶⁷⁸TV3, “The Israeli army has destroyed a tunnel network used for smuggling weapons by Palestinians”, *3 News*, 19 May 2004.

⁶⁷⁹ TV1, “A Palestinian doctor and five Bulgarian nurses in Libya have been sentenced to death by firing squad for infecting hundreds of children with HIV”, *One News*, 7 May 2004.

enlargement case study the latter group was particularly prominent, especially in large crowd scenes, in the international affairs coverage, though crowds of people were occasionally visible, far more often the camera focus was on the officials. Indeed, images of the military and police personnel were also more common than ordinary people, perhaps reflecting the emergence of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) since 2003.

Predominantly, the ordinary people that were visible however, were not EU citizens, and neither the EU or non-EU people were ever identified on-screen. Anonymous children situated in places of conflict (denoted by the rubble and bomb-damaged buildings around them – discussed further below) were commonly seen in the EU international affairs news items though. These children were a mixture of boys and girls, and in those items where they were in conflict-zones, the children were generally seen wearing dirty tee-shirts and shorts, often with bare feet, and were usually shown standing amidst the debris staring directly at the camera (Figure 7.8). The combination of their unkempt appearance and the settings of their images denoted that these children were not young citizens of the EU, but instead were the children of countries wrecked by violence and combat.



Figure 7.8: Example of Images of Children in EU International Affairs Coverage

Similarly to these children, other news items set in similar locations also featured images of older men and women. Sometimes these were shown to be small groups of young men, often dressed in the same way as the children discussed above, or alternatively shown wearing robes, who were standing in the streets just staring at the camera. Other times, these young men were seen picking through the piles of building rubble that lay in the streets. The women who were seen in the same news items generally were shown wearing headscarves and occasionally burqhas, thus clearly represented as Islamic women. In the same news items, much older women dressed similarly were seen wailing and waving their arms. In such images the women were clearly shown in a state of extreme distress (Figure 7.9). In another news item pertaining to the EU's international affairs, several images were shown of a young family, with three children and a mother and father, sitting on the floor of their kitchen, hugging each other and crying. Once again in this image there was a clear element of distress and anguish present.



Figure 7.9: Example of Images of People in Distress in EU International Affairs Coverage

Crowd scenes were the other major image of non-EU citizens in the foreign affairs news items. One crowd scene was clearly from old stock footage, as it depicted a very large crowd standing below and listening to Saddam Hussein speak to them. The crowd in this scene were cheering and waving their arms and the overall tone appeared to be one of elation. In another news item, this time relating to the Ukrainian presidential election aftermath, a large crowd was depicted chanting and waving placards, and generally cheering. Although the sentiment expressed in the latter crowd scene indicated celebration, the fact that many of the members of the crowd were in fact protesting the results of the presidential election did lend a disquieting tone to the crowd images (Figure 7.10).



Figure 7.10: Example of Crowd Scenes in EU International Affairs Coverage

Ordinary EU citizens appeared far less frequently in the foreign affairs news items, but there were some who appeared, and they were once again not identified on-screen in any way. In particular, two international affairs items screened images of EU citizens, and one of those featured the seemingly favoured crowd image. A crowd of people of all ages – from very young children of about seven or eight, to old men – were gathered in a large protest against the visit of George Bush to Ireland (the cause

of the protest was indicated by the writing on their placards, discussed in further detail subsequently). In addition to the crowd, another news item depicted several individual EU people. In this case, the people were all men in approximately their mid-to-late thirties, and all were wearing white lab coats and other protective clothing like disposable surgical hats (Figure 7.11). Their clothing combined with their activity – working on and moving very high tech looking scientific equipment involved in the Galileo satellite programme – prompted the interpretation of the men as scientists.



Figure 7.11: Example of EU Citizens Working as Scientists

Another other major group of actors seen in the international affairs coverage were the leaders or officials of both the EU (including its Member States), and the various global partners of the Union. As with the ordinary people, however, many of these officials were not identified on-screen, but instead were either one of many anonymous officials, or alternatively, they were sometimes well-known political ‘celebrities’ who presumably were considered to require no label. These unnamed officials (who were recognisable) were primarily leaders of EU Member States, and of the countries with which the EU was involved. The latter included images of US President George Bush and his then Secretary of State Colin Powell, current Ukraine

President (although at the time, the alleged winner of the Presidential elections) Viktor Yushenko, Libyan leader Colonel Muammar al-Gaddafi, and finally former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. In addition, the leaders of two EU Member States were depicted without identification – UK Prime Minister Tony Blair, and French President Jacques Chirac (Figure 7.12).



Figure 7.12: Example of Images of Unidentified EU Officials

In addition to these unidentified officials, several were also labelled onscreen. Tony Blair, George Bush and Colin Powell were all visible in additional news items and in these they were identified as they addressed the camera. Officials from EU partner countries who featured and were acknowledged included then-interim Iraqi Prime Minister Iyad Allawi, Lt. General Moshe Yaalon, the Israeli Army Chief of Staff, and US Senator Norm Coleman. Two EU Member State officials were named in addition to Tony Blair, and both were also from the UK; British MP Gwyenth Dunwoody appeared on-screen and was identified as a member of a select committee for transport discussing the implications of the Galileo satellite system, and British Attorney General Lord Goldsmith also featured in an item regarding the US led war on terror and the detention of prisoners at Guantanamo Bay. Two officials from international

organisations were identified visually: UN Secretary General Kofi Annan appeared twice, and Dick Oosting - an Amnesty International representative was also identified onscreen. Finally, only two European Commission actors were visually identified – the then External Relations Commissioner Chris Patten and Commission President Romano Prodi (Figure 7.13).



Figure 7.13: Image of Romano Prodi at Press Conference

Finally, one other group of people were apparent in the international affairs coverage, and although they were not individually identified, they did feature in half of all EU international affairs news items in both New Zealand and Australia. This final group contained soldiers or other uniformed military or police personnel, and they were depicted as being engaged in a variety of activities. In one news item, a policeman was in fact shown as part of a crowd, singing and chanting along with his fellow crowd members, but the remainder of this group were shown in a more professional capacity. In one news item, military officers – both male and female – provided security for Colonel Gaddafi, while in another, riot police monitored the actions of a crowd of people. Two foreign affairs items depicted soldiers engaged in armed combat: one in which the soldiers were carrying large machine-guns and were

patrolling a street (Figure 7.14); and another in which the soldiers were engaged in outright combat, driving tanks through towns, searching down tunnels (presumably for their ‘enemy’), and bombing buildings. These soldiers were not depicted with any equipment or uniforms that would define them as ‘EU military’ personnel, and thus it was assumed that they were military from other countries, but despite this, the frequent image of soldiers in EU news items arguably associates the Union with military actions.



Figure 7.14: Example of Images of Patrolling Soldiers

The buildings and streets that the various military personnel were seen patrolling and fighting around are just some of the various settings of EU international affairs news items. Whereas in the enlargement case study discussed in the previous chapter, many of the setting features denoted an EU-location, in the international affairs coverage this was often not the case. Instead, the settings of some foreign affairs items were found to often include aspects which were specifically *non*-EU locations.

For example, in the news items discussed above where soldiers were depicted on patrol, the action was shown taking place on streets that were unpaved, dusty, often

littered with rubble, and lined by buildings that were damaged and sometimes even destroyed by bombs and gunfire (Figure 7.15). In one item in particular, the camera watched as a missile was fired from one building into another, causing it to collapse in a large cloud of smoke. Such settings were clearly being constructed as war zones, and therefore were not situated within the EU. Additionally, another foreign affairs news item featured images of jungle-like forestation, and also streets lined with palm trees, neither of which are features of typically European settings.



Figure 7.15: Example of War-Zone as Setting of EU International Affairs

Other relevant new items sometimes depicted setting features which contrasted developing countries with more developed nations. One item, for example, featured cityscape images which highlighted skyscraper buildings and then zoomed in to focus on several of these vast, concrete and glass structures. Following this image, the news item then cut to images of outdoor street markets with alley-ways and open-air vendors, and then back again to a close-up shot of one of the skyscrapers from the previous setting. This quick shift between such different settings operated to emphasise the differences between the two, and suggested modernity in the one location, and under-development in the other.

Contrasting the locations of news items by featuring the exterior and then interiors of various buildings were also common setting images. In several foreign affairs news items an image of a large, often non-descript building would appear, and then the item would shift to an image inside a room – assumed to be inside the previously seen building. These rooms were full of ornate gilt lamps and candelabra, antique chairs and tables, and plush furnishings, which provided an overall air of luxury to the rooms (Figure 7.16). Generally such rooms were seen when two or more leaders were meeting with one another, or when a particular official was being interviewed by a news reporter, and frequently the people seen in these rooms, as in Figure 7.16, were EU actors, thus indicating that perhaps the buildings themselves were within the EU. These highly sumptuous settings contrasted dramatically with the alternative settings of towns outside the EU that had been destroyed by war.



Figure 7.16: Example of Ornate Interior Settings

In two news items, images of mosques, with minarets particularly prominent, established the setting as being within a Muslim community, although it was seldom clear from the visual images alone whether this was a Muslim community within the

EU, or if it was a Muslim country situated outside of the Union (Figure 7.17). The final location that was used in some of the foreign affairs news items was a science laboratory. The sterility of the environments, as well as the sense of order and control therein, and the incorporation of a lot of metallic and white features, and usually had various pieces of technical equipment, denoted these locations as places of scientific research.



Figure 7.17: Example of an Image of Islamic Buildings

In the previous chapter, the visual analysis of enlargement discovered a large volume of visual symbols that were used to denote the EU, and in particular, the Union's own set of symbols – the EU flag and circle of 12 stars. In the analysis of the international affairs news items, however, there were very few of these EU-symbols, and other symbolic images were identified.

In particular, flags were found to be a commonly employed visual device, arguably to provide a visual cue to the context of the news item. The flags of various countries were frequently noted in the relevant news items, and in particular, the flags of the EU's partner countries and the countries in which it was involved. The flags of Iraq,

Iran and Israel were the three most commonly seen national flags, and in addition, the Ukraine, Libyan and US flags were also noted. The flag of the United Nations was also apparent on several occasions (Figure 7.18).



Figure 7.18: Example of UN Flag

The EU flag – and its corresponding circle of stars – were visible in only three of the news items. However, when the EU flag was featured, it was also always accompanied by several other symbols – namely images of black cars, occasionally images of red carpets – which denoted elitism, and also the flags of some of its Member States. The specific Member States who were represented in a flag were the UK, France and Spain. In the remaining foreign affairs news items, there were no other symbols that specifically referenced the EU.

Instead, the symbols used indicated the various areas of EU foreign affairs action. Corresponding to the visual analysis of groups of people, a variety of images symbolised the armed forces and military actions. The image of a military tank was often seen in the international affairs news items, and dead bodies – once in a coffin, and other times wrapped in shrouds – were also visible, presumably to symbolise the

tragic outcomes of the hostilities. In addition, the symbol of satellites was identified. This symbol can be connected to this military theme, as satellites are considered to be key information tools of the military, enabling them to watch their enemy and thus plan their attacks more effectively. Finally, although not specifically a military symbol, the emblem denoting nuclear power was identified in two separate EU international affairs news items. The idea of nuclear is very frequently associated with nuclear weapons, and as such this symbol can be linked to the common military theme revealed in this analysis.

The final feature of the visual analysis was text that was displayed onscreen, because when it appears in a largely pictorial image, the symbolic value of the text is arguably heightened. As the only words on the screen, the text presented in these foreign affairs news items will arguably find a higher resonance with the television news audiences. As with the previous chapter, much of the text identified in this particular case study had a largely pragmatic function, in that it was used to identify the reporter of a news item, or the location in which the news item was taking place, for example: “Martin Fletcher, reports”, or “Stephen Sackur, BBC Correspondent, Brussels”. Another form of text that was used was the identification of the few officials who were named in the foreign affairs news items, for example: “Iyad Allawi, Iraqi Interim Prime Minister”, or “Romano Prodi, EU Commission President”.

With the exception of just a small number of examples, the remaining on-screen text that was noted once again reinforced the notion of armed conflict. “Gaza Clash” appeared in one news item, while in an item featuring a protest against the war in Iraq in particular, several banners featured rather angry, war-themed text (Figure 7.19): “War is Terror”, “US Troops out of Shannon”, “No Blood for Oil”. This particular protest was also targeted not only against the war in Iraq, but against George Bush personally, with some of the protestors clearly holding Bush personally responsible for the hostilities: “Stop Bush”, “Bush not Wanted”, “Ahern is Bush’s Lapdog”, and rather comedically, “A Village in Texas has Lost its Idiot”. Text which reiterated the

nuclear threat was also evident; “Caution Radiation Area”, “Program Suspended [sic]”, and “Nuclear Cutback”, all referred to the EU’s negotiation with Iran for a cessation in its nuclear development activities. Finally, a quote from Kofi Annan was displayed on screen which considered the rather ominous implications of the ongoing conflict in Iraq: “‘The threat or actual use of force not only risks deepening the alienation of certain communities...it will also reinforce perceptions of a continued military occupation’, Kofi Annan – UN Secretary General”.



Figure 7.19: Example of Text Used to Protest International Military Actions

7.4 REVIEWING THE EU’S ‘PERFORMANCE’ ON THE WORLD STAGE

This chapter has explored the images of the EU as an international affairs actor on the global stage, as those images were represented on New Zealand and Australian television news bulletins in 2004. The EU’s role in external relations was found to be the second most visible EU news theme in New Zealand, and was the most prominent in Australia, reflecting the broader Asia-Pacific regional importance of this theme also. Overall, the two cases – New Zealand and Australia – were found in this analysis to present an almost identical picture of the EU as a foreign affairs actor.

The only notable difference to these overall similarities was found in the dynamics of the coverage. The New Zealand television news coverage was highly irregular, with the subject largely invisible through out the monitored year, with exception of two peaks triggered by significant international events. By contrast, the Australian coverage was found to be slightly steadier in its portrayals of the EU in this sphere.

Aside from these differences in the dynamics of the coverage, the two Pacific countries shared many aspects of their representations of the EU as a global actor. The dominance of politically-framed EU foreign affairs news in particular was overwhelmingly the norm in both New Zealand and Australia, with 87 percent of the total international affairs coverage in both countries being framed as such. The clear dominance of this particular frame was perhaps not surprising, given the traditional understandings of foreign affairs as a largely political sphere. However, as was discussed at the beginning of this chapter, traditionally the EU itself has not been conceived of as a global political actor. Indeed, the prominence of this frame stands in stark contrast to the persistent stereotype of the EU as an economic giant. The fundamental question regarding this finding then, is, does such a framing represent a shift in perceptions of the EU – is the Union beginning to be seen as more than a political ‘dwarf’? It is possible that new understandings of the EU are beginning to take hold, but arguably, the nature of television news, and not the nature of the EU that this trend may also be a contributing factor in this constructed EU image.

It has been found overall that the EU was largely framed both in New Zealand and across the Asia-Pacific region more widely, in a largely political manner, and it has been posited that political affairs, far more than economic matters, suit the purposes of television news bulletins. While economic issues are frequently considered to be too dry and complex to be addressed thoroughly in a nightly prime time news bulletin, political affairs on the other hand – whether international or local in focus – are very often accompanied by drama and arguments between national leaders for example,

thus making it a much more ‘sellable’ news frame. Indeed, Paul Norris, former head of TVNZ, once noted that “[t]elevision...violates its ‘essential nature’ when it taxes the brain unduly. Television is not very easy to use for detailed examination or analysis of complex matters...[c]omplexity will only confuse people and tempt them to switch channels”.⁶⁸⁰ Thus the complexity of matters like international trade and policy are set aside in television news selection in favour of the more dramatic political news stories.

The inclusion of some form of conflict or controversy has in a news story has been found to increase its ‘dramatic’ appeal, and thus its chances of getting through the various ‘gates’ of news selection. Indeed, the analysis of the news values identified in this case study corresponded to this argument. It was found that in almost every EU foreign affairs news item in both Pacific countries, the values of prominence/importance, timeliness, and conflict/controversy were operational. An element of conflict was found to be the only additional news value triggering EU foreign affairs coverage.

The specific topics of the EU international affairs news help to explain this further. It was found that in both New Zealand and Australia, the themes of EU foreign affairs coverage were largely connected to globally contentious areas, like the Middle East, and with issues like terrorism and global security. EU involvement in countries like Libya – a country until very recently on the outside with the global community – and in Ukraine’s presidential elections were areas of EU external affairs in 2004 that incorporated a level of controversy. Additionally, in both Pacific countries’ coverage, the topics and themes of EU international action were often found to be layered within a single news item. While overall the themes of EU external affairs were broadly divided into two categories; the EU’s bilateral relations and various international issues, frequently the EU’s bilateral were seen to be situated within the broader

⁶⁸⁰ Paul Norris, former Head of News and Current Affairs at TVNZ, cited in: Gordon Campbell, “Inside the Richard and Judy Show”, *Listener*, August 15 1992, 17.

context of international issues. An item about a meeting between EU and US officials, for example, also broadly covered the subject of international military actions, because the subject of the war in Iraq was also inevitably addressed. Alternatively, an item about EU-Iranian relations would necessarily include subject matter about international nuclear armament. This ‘layering’ approach of applying different levels of news content within one news item is a common approach of newsmakers, as has been discussed previously, and it is particularly so in the television sphere, where space and time are inherently restricted. While this finding may demonstrate the need to apply such layering devices in order to make EU news more ‘palatable’ to the average television news consumer in the Pacific, it is arguably also indicative of the complexity of the EU’s international role, where it interacts with a wide range of international partners, is involved in a variety of contemporary global ‘hot’ topics, and is constantly pursuing its own particular politically-normative agenda. This trend then, may in fact indicate an appreciation by the television news media of New Zealand and Australia, of the EU’s involved and important international role.

Interestingly, one facet of the EU’s international role that was particularly prominent in the New Zealand coverage, and which was correspondingly absent from the Australian, was the relationship between the EU and the UN. The interaction between these two global powers was one of the leading themes of EU external relations in the New Zealand case, and frequently the two actors were seen to be cooperating in similar areas of global crisis, as is the EU policy to do so. Consistently depicting the EU and the UN working together in this way prompts questions into the motivation for this particular framing. Perhaps the relationship has been prioritised in the New Zealand television news space because New Zealand newsmakers view the EU as a similar organisation to the UN and this is why the two are seen to be acting together frequently. Alternatively, it may be that the two organisations are considered by New Zealand newsmakers to be on a par with one another and are equally as effective in dealing with prominent international conflicts. As the largest organisation in the world with vast resources that it uses in many global areas, a tacit comparison between the

EU's global role and that of the UN would arguably be favourable in the representation of the EU's international image.

The actors analysis in this case study, however, was perhaps less favourable. The lack of a clear unified EU 'face' or 'voice', particularly in its external interactions is considered to be a significant restriction on the EU's ability to become a truly powerful international leader. This analysis found that in both New Zealand and Australian coverage of EU global affairs there was no clear representative of the Union. Instead, a range of actors was once again featured. The Australian television news bulletins were found to feature a slightly higher number of specific actors than did the New Zealand coverage, and the former country's EU international affairs news also included reference to the only two European Commission actors, Romano Prodi and Javier Solana. Neither of the two was mentioned in any of the New Zealand television news items, despite both being key actors in the field of EU external relations. This is all the more important in the case of Solana, the actor charged with the very role of representing the EU abroad. It is an interesting anomaly that while Solana featured in the news transcripts, he never featured on-screen in the visual images of the EU foreign affairs, arguably leaving him as a 'faceless' EU actor. It is also noteworthy that Australian television news newsmakers recognised to some extent Solana's role, while their New Zealand counterparts did not. It may be that recognition of these two Union actors in the Australian case indicates a heightened awareness of aspects of the EU's evolving foreign policy by that country, however Solana and Prodi were certainly not the only EU actors to feature in the Australian coverage. Indeed, both Pacific countries also featured a range of Member State actors, thus to a certain degree countering the European unity depicted by Community actors, and arguably adding to the confusion over exactly who represents the EU on the world stage.

This confusion was continued in the constant references in both countries' television news media to the rather generically named group "EU leaders". This grouping was

used repeatedly by the two countries' television newsmakers to reference EU action, but it was difficult in all cases to establish just who this group referred to. Often it was the leaders of the EU's Member States, but it could just as easily have referred to various Commissioners, MEPs or the Council members. The significant point to note about this reference was that it was incredibly vague, providing no indication to the news audiences exactly who was involved; this group of actors was faceless, arguably making it more easily dismissed in the mind of an average news consumer. As contentious as the idea is, having a single representative who is charged with representing the EU in all global policy areas would bring a very definite face to the EU's image, thus making both it and its activities more readily recognisable.

Another fundamental similarity in presenting the EU's foreign affairs in New Zealand and Australia was found in the focus of the various news items. Both Pacific countries were found to depict the EU's external relations as very much an external phenomenon. The EU was seen to be acting either in an area that was of importance for itself and thus within its own borders, or in a manner which was of concern for another international counterpart, neither the EU nor New Zealand/Australia. While it is expected that most news pertaining to the EU's foreign relations will be framed in a manner which highlights the international aspects, the distinct lack of any domestic, or regional connection at all does perhaps indicate an impaired access to the EU for Australasian television news consumers. Indeed, although a specifically domestic connection may have been unlikely, presentations of the EU acting within the Pacific region more generally may not have been unexpected. The EU is, after all, the second largest donor of development assistance in the Pacific, behind only Australia, and is a key actor in promoting political and economic stability in the region. Yet these EU actions were invisible in this analysis also. By failing to 'hook'⁶⁸¹ news on the EU's international relations within the domestic or regional context, arguably news audiences are presented an image of the EU as being very distanced from them. Foreign events tend to be just that – they are happening out in the distance, outside of

⁶⁸¹ Deirdre Kevin, *Europe in the Media*, 132.

the viewer's immediate world and thus are more easily dismissed as "out of sight, out of mind".⁶⁸²

Alternatively, however, the consistent portrayal of the EU as involved in the international arena does denote an interesting image of the EU, whether or not it was connected to the domestic Pacific contexts. While the EU's role in its international activities was seldom considered to be a dominant one – indeed, the analysis of the degree of EU centrality in the news item found that the EU's role in the world was primarily presented from the perspective of a third country in which the EU played a small, often 'supporting' role – the EU was regularly and consistently seen as a contributing actor in various global situations, and particularly in situations of conflict or disharmony. Although it may not be presented as an international actor that affects the daily lives of New Zealanders and Australians, the EU was presented as affecting the lives of other international actors, and this is significant for its ongoing struggle with its international identity.

In addition to this absence of locally-relevant EU global affairs news, the almost total absence of socially-framed news is also noteworthy. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the EU's global role is increasingly argued to be throwing off the old stereotypes of economic largess and political fragility in favour of new conceptions of external relations. As Khanna argued, the EU dresses itself in the new clothes of 'metrosexual' foreign policy, preferring to accessorise with key roles in everything from international environmental policy and social welfare to economic development and humanitarian aid, thus enhancing its "magnetic allure",⁶⁸³ and prompting others to dress similarly in order to foster closer cooperation – and even membership – with the EU. Yet New Zealand and Australian television news bulletins provided no coverage

⁶⁸² Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, 28.

⁶⁸³ Parag Khanna, "The Metrosexual Superpower", 67.

at all of the EU's significant achievements in the realm of environmental policy,⁶⁸⁴ for example, nor was there any coverage given to the EU's vital role in humanitarian and development assistance. Although Khanna's description of the EU as this 'season's' geopolitical trend is not without its criticisms,⁶⁸⁵ many of the points the author made regarding the particular foreign policy 'tools' that the EU employs are accurate, and it is therefore fascinating that these aspects of the EU's external relations 'arsenal' were completely invisible in the New Zealand and Australian television news coverage in 2004. Arguably the EU international affairs image in the two television news discourses of this case study fits neither with traditional stereotypes, nor with more recent conceptions.

In the metaphoric depictions of the EU's international role, however, a more familiar image was often found. In both the New Zealand and Australian coverage, the EU was depicted as being involved in families and friendships, arguably lending a very familial air to its image. The EU's 'family' was not always depicted as a happy one, but instead was often plagued by squabbling, as indeed are many ordinary families. In its 'friendships' with other international actors like the US, the EU was also seen to sometimes have differences of opinion; with the world's incumbent superpower, and one of the world's emerging superpowers, there are bound to be challenges in the relationship. But the EU's relations with some of its other partners were shown to be more congenial, and in one case even heading towards matrimony. Bickering families and romantic relations are arguably images which will resonate very clearly with news audiences, as similar relationships are an intrinsic part of their own daily lives. Such images possibly create a picture of the EU itself as being not all that different to New Zealanders and Australians; it too enjoys spending time with its friends and has a family that is not always easy to get along with. Personalising the EU and its activities

⁶⁸⁴ See for example: Charlotte Bretherton and John Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*, 89.

⁶⁸⁵ See for example: David Lindsay, "All Substance No Style", *Foreign Policy*, November (2004), 13-14.

in this manner arguably creates a more concrete image of it in the minds of international news consumers.

Other personification metaphors were also found in both the New Zealand and Australian coverage, and these included the less convivial images of people physically fighting, and occasionally even moving to outright war. Such images are not uncommon in the field of international affairs, a sphere which is often marked by disputes and disagreements between nations. Indeed, Lakoff noted that argument “is partially structured, understood, performed and talked about in terms of war”,⁶⁸⁶ and as such it was unsurprising to find the EU depicted as rivalling the US, before arming itself to stand ready to defend EU borders against attacks.

This rather militarised imagery was also found to be prevalent in many aspects of the visual analysis. In the investigations of the ‘people’ who were visually presented in EU international affairs news items, almost every analysed news item included images of the police or soldiers, always in uniform and frequently armed with guns. While these military personnel were generally understood to be non-EU people – inferred as much from the fact that the majority of the relevant news items were presented from a 3rd country perspective and not an EU one, as well as the lack of visual cues denoting the EU – their constant presence in EU-related external relations news items does inherently link the EU to the idea of military action. Additionally, frequent images of streets destroyed by gunfire, and the ultimate symbols of the consequences of war – dead bodies – added to this broadly military feel.

These images are particularly interesting in light of the EU’s own limitations in the military sphere. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, although the EU does have combined peacekeeping troops deployed in several locations around the world, it does not have a unified military in the traditional state-like sense. Additionally, EU troops were not operational in any of the areas that garnered New Zealand and

⁶⁸⁶ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 5.

Australian television news attention in 2004 and therefore cannot be responsible for the prominence of military concerns in the EU's international affairs coverage. Arguably what this particular feature of the analysis may indicate then is a continued preference by television news makers to conceive of foreign affairs in a very traditionalist manner; that is, in terms of 'hard' power and military might, with little emphasis or credence given to alternative approaches.

Another aspect of the visual analysis which contributes to this may be found in the depictions of EU officials in the relevant news items. EU officials were one of three prominent groups of people identified in the visual analysis (the other two being the military personnel as well as ordinary people). Typically, these officials were shown to be male, middle aged or older, and wearing either black or very dark colour suits, and the actions that they were seen undertaking usually involved either getting in and out of cars, or speaking to the camera or each other. This rather limited array of activities arguably depicts these officials as being rather static. In contrast, the military personnel (who represented other international actors) were usually seen bombing buildings, patrolling streets and acting as security guards, and their dynamism in this regard only served to further depict the EU officials as immobile, and perhaps ineffective, actors.

The EU officials were also juxtaposed against the ordinary people in the foreign affairs news items. While the officials were seen in their well-tailored – and likely expensive – suits, and were chauffeured in shiny black cars, the ordinary people of international affairs were typically shown in ways which highlighted their vulnerability. Children and women with ragged clothing and dirty faces were depicted picking through the rubble of their bomb-struck towns, or seen sitting amongst the chaos. These pictures directly contrasted with the polished and rather privileged imagery associated with tailored suits and expensive cars which accompanied the EU officials, and arguably they construct an image of the EU and its representatives as

being out of touch and disconnected from the reality of the international environment in which they act.

Another feature of the visual analysis which stood out was the frequent imagery that was connected with Islam. In many of the analysed news items, ordinary people were shown wearing burqhas or headscarves (for the women), and occasionally robes for the men. In the latter case, several news items also depicted leaders of the EU's partner countries – notably Iran and Libya – wearing robes. In addition, although the images were not necessarily intrinsically related to the location of a news item, images of mosques with striking features like minarets and domes were also often depicted. Presumably the purpose of these non-essential images was to denote that the action of the news item was taking place within a predominantly Muslim country, thus arguably also contrasting it with the notions of a 'European' setting that were identified in the enlargement case study of the previous chapter. There, images of specific architectural styles that are considered to be European were used to denote an EU setting, and thus by positioning images of Islam so prominently in these international affairs news items, newsmakers are arguably situating Islam as 'outside' of and 'Other' to Europe.

Finally, it was found in the visual analysis, that very few EU symbols were depicted in the foreign affairs news items. There were frequent symbols identified, and these were primarily the flags of certain countries, but very few images of the EU flag or circle of stars were noted. The use of the symbol of a country's flag was presumably another device employed by newsmakers to help to situate a news item in a particular location, or to visually represent the specific nations involved in a news story. The lack of the official EU symbols then, arguably corresponds to the fact that very few of the external relations news items were found to be presented from an EU perspective. Instead, the EU was acting outside of its borders, and was often only a minor or secondary actor. As such, presumably, it was not necessary to feature stock-images of the EU's symbols, as it was not a significant actor. However, the lack of these EU

images in the international affairs news items is important. “Brand Europe” as Khanna has described it, is one that is readily associated with the blue and gold flag of the EU, and that it was so conspicuously absent from the majority of foreign affairs news items could mean that the EU itself was not visibly associated to these issues of global concern.

7.5 CONCLUSION

The EU as an actor in the realm of external relations was a prominent theme in the television news coverage of the EU in both New Zealand and Australia in 2004. Indeed, its involvement in many of the world’s key areas of concern, like the Middle East and Iraq, showed that the EU does play an important role on the world’s geopolitical stage. However, this analysis has shown that the overall image of the EU as an important global actor is one that is marked by paradox.

While it was frequently associated with areas of global interest, like Israel/Palestine, Iraq and in matters like nuclear weapons proliferation and terrorism, the consistent portrayal by New Zealand and Australian newsmakers of the EU as only a secondary or peripheral actor in these issues arguably negates much of its influence. Far from being the leading actor helping to solve the world’s conflicts, instead the EU was depicted as simply one of many chorus members on the world’s stage.

In addition, as one of the many, the EU was seldom seen to stand out from the chorus line. By dressing and acting similarly, its many, often anonymous representatives contributed to an image of the EU as a ‘faceless’ entity that lacked the charisma to take the protagonist’s role. Additionally, ‘brand Europe’, which was seen so prominently in the enlargement case study of the previous chapter, was virtually absent in the international affairs coverage. Very few symbols of the EU were visible

in the external relations news items, thus adding to the rather amorphous image of the EU.

Adding to the overall notion of a paradoxical EU international affairs image was the frequent association of the EU and its actions with the military, despite the Union itself having little capacity in this regard. Arguably being commonly associated with areas of armed conflict, when one is not seen to be holding a gun oneself, creates an image of the EU as a somewhat impotent actor, restricted to its abilities in diplomatic formalities, and not out in the 'real' world of international affairs.

These contradictory findings are arguably challenging for the EU as it continues its quest for a cohesive international identity. Although it was found to be a frequently acting in an external relations capacity, the overall image of it therein is far from unified. Additionally, the fact that these paradoxical images were found in the television news reports of two countries with very different external relations stances both towards the EU and more generally is important. To return to the words of Khanna, the EU may indeed be "redefining old notions of power and influence",⁶⁸⁷ but it seems that the international community is struggling to keep up with this new trend, and as such, the EU arguably risks becoming a foreign affairs 'has-been' that never quite managed to assert its dramatic new style on the world stage.

⁶⁸⁷ Parag Khanna, "The Metrosexual Superpower".

CHAPTER 8

PERSPECTIVES FROM THE NEWSROOM: THE EU IN THE EYES OF NEW ZEALAND NEWSMAKERS

“News stories, if they reflect anything, reflect the practices of [journalists]”.
Mark Fishman⁶⁸⁸

8.1 WHY LOOK INSIDE THE NEWSROOM?

Thus far, this thesis has found that in their representations of the EU, New Zealand television news bulletins featured quite specific framing patterns. One of the most important of these has been a much lower level of EU television news coverage than might have been anticipated, given the importance attached to the EU-relationship by the New Zealand government. Additionally, in the literature on foreign news determinants, several factors have been identified as prompting a heightened level of news on foreign counterparts, namely the importance of international partners (in terms of population and gross national product), and their proximity (geographical, commercial, and cultural) to the country of news origin,⁶⁸⁹ as well as trade volume and the presence of international news agencies, as well as military and political clout, and major incidents.⁶⁹⁰ Given that the EU meets the majority of these criteria for New Zealand (particularly cultural and commercial proximity, as well as trade volume and

⁶⁸⁸ Mark Fishman, “News and Nonevents: Making the Visible Invisible”, in *Social Meaning of News*, edited by David Berkowitz, (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 1997), 211, cited in Raymond Lau, “Critical Realism and News Production, 701.

⁶⁸⁹ Jorgen Westerståhl and Folke Johansson, “Foreign News: Values and Ideologies”, *European Journal of Communication* 9, No. 1, (1994).

⁶⁹⁰ H. Denis Wu, Systemic Determinants of International News Coverage: a Comparison of 38 Countries, *Journal of Communication* 50, No. 2, (2000), 126.

the significance of the EU globally), it is pertinent therefore to try to account for the disproportionately low coverage, as well as for the other features of the EU image that have emerged.

As discussed in Chapter 3, this thesis understands news as a discursive practice in constructing reality; that is, in the selection and interpretation of daily events for presentation in a newspaper or television news bulletin, newsmakers function to construct a specific image of reality for consumption by their audiences. Because of this relative power that newsmakers exert then, in providing audiences with a highly specific picture of reality, it is important to account for the various factors which influence the decisions that journalists and news editors make as they construct these news ‘realities’.

This aspect of news studies is relatively under-researched, in part because, as Holtz-Bacha has noted, journalists do not appreciate having someone (a researcher) looking over their shoulder as they work.⁶⁹¹ Yet, as de Vreese has contended, “[t]he processes underlying news stories are essential for understanding patterns and conventions found in the content [of news]...Access to newsrooms [then] is a prerequisite for enhancing our knowledge about news production”.⁶⁹² In order to enhance the understanding of the reasons behind the particular EU framings that have emerged in this analysis, this study investigated the newsroom perspective which was assumed to underpin the construction of an EU image in the television news bulletins of New Zealand.

⁶⁹¹ Christina Holtz-Bacha, “Mass Media and Elections: An Impressive Body of Research”, in *German Communication Yearbook*, Christina Holtz-Bacha and Hans-Bernd Brosius, (Cresskill: Hampton Press, 1999), 59.

⁶⁹² Claes de Vreese, *Framing Europe*, 15.

Elaborating on previous studies,⁶⁹³ Lau proposed a set of factors argued to influence the production of specific news representations. In particular, Lau featured two categories of news production factors: those extraneous to the news production processes, and those internal to them. Extraneous factors include such aspects as ownership of the media outlet, government regulations, technical and logistical factors, and outlet size.⁶⁹⁴ These factors are considered to function as actual constraints on journalists in their news gathering and dissemination.⁶⁹⁵ On the other hand are the internal factors, argued by Lau to include accepted professional journalistic practices, as well as the ideologies and values held by journalists, all of which, Lau claimed, exercise their effects on journalistic autonomy.⁶⁹⁶

This chapter draws on Lau's proposals, as well as on research by de Vreese which explored the newsroom perspective within European news organisations reporting on the EU,⁶⁹⁷ and reveals the various factors internal and extraneous to EU news coverage in New Zealand which may have impacted on the manner in which the EU was portrayed within it. The data for this chapter comes from a series of in-depth semi-structured interviews with the leading news editors of major media outlets in New Zealand. The Heads of News and Current Affairs at both of the monitored television news networks were interviewed, as were their colleagues in several of New Zealand's major daily newspapers, in order to more fully explore the range of perceptions among the entire New Zealand news media community. As New Zealand is a small country with a limited media environment,⁶⁹⁸ it was anticipated that the EU

⁶⁹³ For extraneous factors, see also: Peter Golding and Philip Elliot, *Making the News*, (New York: Longman, 1979); Michael Schudson, "The Sociology of News Production Revisited (again)", in *Mass Media and Society*, edited James Curran and Michael Gurevitch. For internal factors, see also: Herbert Gans, *Deciding What's News*; Gaye Tuchman, *Making News*; and Michael Schudson, "The Sociology of News Production Revisited (again)".

⁶⁹⁴ Raymond Lau, "Critical Realism and News Production, *Media, Culture, and Society* 26, No. 5, (2004), 694.

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 694-695.

⁶⁹⁷ Claes de Vreese, *Framing Europe*.

⁶⁹⁸ Simon Cross and John Henderson, "Public Images and Private Lives".

news agenda held by newsmakers in both print and broadcast news would be broadly similar. The questions posed to these media elites broadly covered two facets: firstly, the newsmakers personal perceptions of the EU and its relationship with New Zealand; and secondly, the various editorial processes and organisational structures in place within the media outlet when covering EU news items. The first facet was incorporated in the questionnaire in order to address the internal factors influencing EU news production, while the latter – the various newsroom practices – were considered to address additional internal factors as well as some of the extraneous ones. By revealing both the internal and extraneous factors operating to influence EU news coverage in New Zealand, it is hoped that many of the particular features of the EU news image will be explained.

8.2 RESULTS

8.2.1 Personal Perceptions of the EU amongst New Zealand Newsmakers

The questions posed to the respondents regarding their personal perceptions of the EU can be grouped into three broad categories; spontaneous perceptions, perceptions of the relationship between New Zealand and the EU, and perceptions of the EU in its own right.

Spontaneous Perceptions

One of the first questions asked of the participating newsmakers during the interviews was designed to prompt their immediate perceptions of the EU. Respondents were asked what were the first three thoughts or images that came to mind when they heard the words, the European Union. The responses provided some interesting images and a number of shared images were identified amongst the respondents.

Two images in particular – trade restrictions and bureaucracy – were commonly cited by interviewees. Images of the EU’s bureaucracy were often discussed beginning with the image of ‘Brussels’, which did not generally refer to the city itself but to the EU institutions with which it arguably has become synonymous. One newsmaker, for example, simply stated, “Bureaucracy. Brussels...that’s probably together”.⁶⁹⁹ The notion that this bureaucracy was largely unchecked was also found in the perceptions of New Zealand newsmakers, and was seen in the descriptions many newsmakers had of what they felt were some of the stranger EU regulations. One New Zealand news editor, for example, spoke of having heard, “...things like all those stories about people who have not been able to make their mouldy cheese because they go against the...stupid kind of rulings from the European Community [regarding] food hygiene....You read lots of those, and they tend to make you go, ‘how incredibly stupid’”.⁷⁰⁰ Another of his New Zealand colleagues also noted this saying that, “[w]e’ve all got this stereotype of Brussels [with] all sort of loony stories [like how] the carrot must be 2.63mm long or whatever.”⁷⁰¹

Agriculture and trade were the second major group of images to be associated with the EU by New Zealand news editors. The EU’s “huge agricultural subsidisation”,⁷⁰² New Zealand’s “historic trading issues [with the Union]”,⁷⁰³ and the “angry French farmers”⁷⁰⁴ were mentioned, and often the perception of trading issues were considered as a given by respondents; the answer being tacked on to the end of one response, “Oh, and obviously trade”.⁷⁰⁵ Indeed, while this aspect of the EU did not feature quite as strongly within this particular question, as will be seen subsequently,

⁶⁹⁹ Paul Thompson, Editor, *The Press*, interviewed in Christchurch, 5 July 2005.

⁷⁰⁰ Deborah Hill Cone, News Editor, *National Business Review*, interviewed in Wellington, 18 March 2004.

⁷⁰¹ John Gardner, Editor, *The New Zealand Herald*, interviewed in Auckland, 2004.

⁷⁰² Mark Jennings, Head of News and Current Affairs, *TV3*, interviewed in Auckland, 20 July 2005.

⁷⁰³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰⁴ Simon Kilroy, Weekend Editor, *The Dominion Post*, interviewed in Wellington, 2004.

⁷⁰⁵ Paul Thompson, Editor, *The Press*.

matters pertaining to the EU's trade with New Zealand featured frequently in the newsmakers' responses overall.

Enlargement was also an image associated with the EU by several respondents, prompting one respondent to rather philosophically enquire, "What are the boundaries of the EU? [That is] what comes to mind, really".⁷⁰⁶ For another interviewee, more pragmatically, the "increasing membership of the EU with all these other countries [from] Eastern Europe...joining",⁷⁰⁷ was brought to mind. Several other images were mentioned by the newsmakers, some more positive – like the association of the EU with "peace and stability"⁷⁰⁸ – and others less so, like the connection of the EU with an image of an actor "whose viability is not guaranteed",⁷⁰⁹ or "some dissent within the ranks".⁷¹⁰

Images of Power

Two questions were posed to the interviewees to gauge whether they perceived the EU to be an international power, and if so, in what areas. Firstly, respondents were asked whether they thought the EU was a leader in international politics, and secondly, whether they thought the EU was a great power, and if so, in which areas. Similarities in the responses to both answers were identified.

Responses to both questions featured descriptions of uncertainty at the EU's current levels of global power. Unsurprisingly, respondents recognised that the EU had significant influence in the global economy. One newsmaker described them simply as a "huge trading bloc",⁷¹¹ and another noted that "[e]conomically, obviously, it's a

⁷⁰⁶ Deborah Hill Cone, News Editor, *National Business Review*.

⁷⁰⁷ Mark Jennings, Head of News and Current Affairs, *TV3*.

⁷⁰⁸ Paul Thompson, Editor, *The Press*.

⁷⁰⁹ Tony Haas, Editor, *Asia-Pacific Economic News*, interviewed in Wellington, June 2005.

⁷¹⁰ Mark Jennings, Head of News and Current Affairs, *TV3*.

⁷¹¹ Mark Jennings, Head of News and Current Affairs, *TV3*.

huge power”.⁷¹² Yet another of their colleagues felt that “it has the capacity to influence the world trade liberalisation round”,⁷¹³ and that this was where the EU’s international power stemmed from.

When discussing the EU’s political influence however, frequently the newsmakers’ responses contained references to the EU’s perceived disunity and fragmentation, which they felt negated its possible power in the world. Some respondents, for example, felt that the EU’s capacity as an international political power was limited because of the diversity of ‘voices’ that were present within the Union, with one news editor stating that “it’s a place of many voices”⁷¹⁴, and another noting that “there is quiet a lot of diversity of aims [within the Union]”,⁷¹⁵ and that until these aims were more unified, the EU would never be a prominent global power. As one respondent described, “It doesn’t feel to me as if there is a strong unified EU political voice”,⁷¹⁶ however, the respondent also qualified this by saying “that’s not to say that I don’t think they have some power...I do. Political power, yes”.⁷¹⁷

Qualifications of the EU’s current abilities were often made by respondents, whereby they claimed that currently they did not perceive the EU to be an international leader, but that they also recognised it had the capacity to become a global power if it could solve its problems of disharmony. One news editor noted that “...it stands up for some really important things and its...had some fantastic influence on the world. But [its] pretty patchy in terms of consistently...getting a result”.⁷¹⁸ As such, in the view of another respondent, the EU is largely a “fragile great power”,⁷¹⁹ not yet capable of

⁷¹² Simon Kilroy, Weekend Editor, *The Dominion Post*.

⁷¹³ Tony Haas, Editor, *Asia-Pacific Economic News*.

⁷¹⁴ Paul Thompson, Editor, *The Press*.

⁷¹⁵ Simon Kilroy, Weekend Editor, *The Dominion Post*.

⁷¹⁶ Mark Jennings, Head of News and Current Affairs, *TV3*.

⁷¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁸ Paul Thompson, Editor, *The Press*.

⁷¹⁹ Tony Haas, Editor, *Asia-Pacific Economic News*.

exerting significant global influence. However, most respondents indicated that they perceived the EU was both growing in global influence, and capable of increasing in this manner in the future. “I think it could be [an international leader]”,⁷²⁰ was one response, while another news editor noted that “I have this feeling that they may be growing in their power”,⁷²¹ and yet another claiming that “It’s got potential to be a leader”.⁷²²

Perceptions of New Zealand and the EU

A range of questions were posed to respondents to explore their perceptions of the relationship between New Zealand and the EU generally. Firstly, interviewees were asked to describe how they would characterise the state of the relationship between the two partners currently; secondly, they were asked to rate the importance of the relationship both now and in the future on a scale from one to five, where one was not important at all, and five was very important; and finally, respondents were asked which issues in the relationship they felt would have the greatest impact on the relationship overall.

Broadly the relationship between the two partners was considered by respondents to be fairly static, and many of the comments were rather subdued in their assessments. While it was ranked fairly highly – an average of 3.8 out of 5 in both the current assessment and the predictions of importance for the future – this was often balanced by more negative perceptions expressed verbally. One respondent felt that “It’s always been a battle for New Zealand to be heard in Europe...and it will probably be even more difficult as Europe expands and its complexity becomes more pronounced”,⁷²³ while another echoed these sentiments by noting that “[New Zealand is] a small nation [while] the EU is a huge and important economic player, so by

⁷²⁰ Paul Thompson, Editor, *The Press*.

⁷²¹ Mark Jennings, Head of News and Current Affairs, *TV3*.

⁷²² Simon Kilroy, Weekend Editor, *The Dominion Post*.

⁷²³ Tony Haas, Editor, *Asia-Pacific Economic News*.

definition its going to be very important”.⁷²⁴ This same respondent, however, connected the current importance of the EU for New Zealand very much with the current government’s focus, noting that, “[t]he present government, from a political point of view, [is] clearly cautious about [the] relationship with America, which almost by definition means that its going to be slightly more interested in Europe”.⁷²⁵ While this respondent stopped short of saying so, the presumption is then, that if the New Zealand administration was to move away from a centre-left governing party, then the relationship with the EU may well shift also.

Other respondents viewed the relationship with greater apathy, with one in particular seeming rather puzzled by the line of questioning in general, stating that “I wouldn’t have thought that [the New Zealand-EU relationship] was actually hugely problematic...[but] I just wouldn’t have thought it would actually be important”.⁷²⁶ Another newsmaker felt that the EU’s importance for New Zealand would “probably become less so over time...[because] I think Asia will become very much the focus for us”.⁷²⁷ While one other interviewee felt that the EU was unlikely to “disappear”,⁷²⁸ New Zealanders “still think about Europe as a group of nations and...[don’t] think of Europe as Europe”.⁷²⁹

In terms of the issues perceived to have the greatest impact on the EU-New Zealand relationship going forward, economic and particularly agricultural issues overwhelmingly dominated the responses. One respondent simply stated, “agriculture”,⁷³⁰ and then followed this up by saying, “I don’t see how they really

⁷²⁴ John Gardner, Editor, *The New Zealand Herald*.

⁷²⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷²⁶ Deborah Hill Cone, News Editor, *National Business Review*.

⁷²⁷ Paul Thompson, Editor, *The Press*.

⁷²⁸ John Gardner, Editor, *The New Zealand Herald*.

⁷²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷³⁰ Mark Jennings, Head of News and Current Affairs, *TV3*.

influence New Zealand in any other ways”.⁷³¹ “Trade access”,⁷³² and “trade issues...around WTO...and whether there will be liberalisation”,⁷³³ were other similarly minded responses. According to another respondent, “Economic issues are always going to be part of New Zealand, and agricultural issues...that is not going to go away”.⁷³⁴

In addition to these matters, one respondent felt that the EU’s “willingness to carry a share of the development assistance load in countries New Zealand wishes to [participate] is most welcome”,⁷³⁵ while another felt that “If the EU set itself up...as the counter-player...with America and a more open...political way than it has now”,⁷³⁶ then New Zealand would be more inclined to strengthen political connections with the Union. Until that time, however, the consensus among New Zealand newsmakers was that “access to market and barriers to trade would be ...about the only issues that are really of great importance to New Zealand”.⁷³⁷

Overall then, the personal perceptions of New Zealand newsmakers tend to indicate a general feeling of apathy towards the EU, particularly in regards to the importance of the EU relationship for New Zealand. In addition, few newsmakers were found to consider the EU to be a major source of global influence, although several interviewees did consider that this was going to change in the future. This chapter now turns to the interview responses regarding the structures and organisation of EU news.

⁷³¹ *Ibid.*

⁷³² Tony Haas, Editor, *Asia-Pacific Economic News*.

⁷³³ Paul Thompson, Editor, *The Press*.

⁷³⁴ John Gardner, Editor, *The New Zealand Herald*.

⁷³⁵ Tony Haas, Editor, *Asia-Pacific Economic News*.

⁷³⁶ John Gardner, Editor, *The New Zealand Herald*.

⁷³⁷ Deborah Hill Cone, News Editor, *National Business Review*.

8.2.2 Processes of News-Making: Perceptions on Reporting the EU in New Zealand

A range of questions were posed to the newsmakers regarding the approach of their media outlet towards covering news on the EU, as well as matters pertaining to the coverage of foreign news more widely. The full list of questions can be found in Appendix IV. Owing to the volume of questions, only the key trends will be addressed in this section, so as to provide an overview of the processes and organisational structures which influence EU news coverage in New Zealand.

Organising EU News: Policies and News Values

The first cluster of questions covered the various organisational principles which governed EU news coverage within the news outlet. Several trends emerged from these questions, in particular that there was a very clear focus amongst the interviewees of the importance of a New Zealand focus in a news item, whether it was foreign news or not, and secondly, there was an indication by the respondents that news from the EU would often provide the light relief needed in an otherwise heavy news bulletin or newspaper.

The first of these trends was particularly prominent, however. The value of a news item, and particularly a foreign news item was gauged by the newsmakers as how relevant or interesting that story was for the local audience. In describing the construction of his network's news bulletin, one interviewee said that "[i]t's done entirely on what we perceive to be news values, and by that we mean, how interesting and relevant to our audience is this story",⁷³⁸ while another chief editor mentioned the importance of journalistic "gut instinct".⁷³⁹ But the notion of relevance was repeatedly noted. "Our big thing", one respondent stated, "is to look for some Kiwis who are caught up in [the international situation]".⁷⁴⁰ Another described that additional

⁷³⁸ Mark Jennings, Head of News and Current Affairs, *TV3*.

⁷³⁹ Paul Thompson, Editor, *The Press*.

⁷⁴⁰ Mark Jennings, Head of News and Current Affairs, *TV3*.

attention would be given by their news outlet “if there’s an issue that we regard as being of...specific interest to New Zealand”,⁷⁴¹ but, he went on to note, “it would have to be very much an issue that we felt wasn’t going to get covered by our other services”.⁷⁴² Alternatively, if the news item from the EU was able to connect easily with a current issue being debated at the local level, then that also was considered likely to prompt additional EU news coverage:

There may be a news story that relates to a similar type of story here in New Zealand. If, for example, the EU made some decision on immigration and it fitted with a development that was occurring in New Zealand, we may well pick up on that.⁷⁴³

This overall trend was summed up rather succinctly by one editor who claimed that, ultimately, “it needs to be something where people can feel some sort of link with it”.⁷⁴⁴

In addition to having a direct connection to the local news market, the interviewees felt that EU news was likely to make it into a news bulletin or newspaper because it provided some sort of point of difference from the ordinary news coverage. Television news editors try, one respondent claimed, “to create a bulletin that has some variety and diversity within it”.⁷⁴⁵ As such:

[If] there was a dispute in the EU over wine or something...You might just include it just because it adds some diversity to your bulletin, or it’s got some...pretty shots of French vineyards, you know? It might just break up a day of heavy crime.⁷⁴⁶

⁷⁴¹ Simon Kilroy, Weekend Editor, *The Dominion Post*.

⁷⁴² *Ibid.*

⁷⁴³ Bill Ralston, Head of News and Current Affairs, *TVNZ*, interviewed in Auckland, 2004.

⁷⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴⁵ Mark Jennings, Head of News and Current Affairs, *TV3*.

⁷⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

Another newspaper editor claimed that, “[w]e have a lot of human interest stuff coming out of Europe. You know, the odd Germans, the strange things French people do...humorous light relief in a newspaper”,⁷⁴⁷ however these were not the only interesting facets of EU news coverage. One news editor felt that in addition to the cultural news, EU economic news was typical, particularly because he perceived that with the addition of the new EU Member States in May 2004, “[New Zealand] has increasingly less trade with the EU...[so] we’d probably be interested in issues like that”,⁷⁴⁸ an interesting comment which is at odds with the dominant television news coverage of the EU during the year. The point was also made by one television news respondent, that if there were layers of news value to an EU news item, then they would be more likely to be included in a bulletin,⁷⁴⁹ as presumably this increased the item’s inherent newsworthiness.

Sourcing and Resourcing EU News

As has been discussed in the previous chapters, the particular sources of EU news have been considered to play an important role in shaping the image of the EU that is presented in the monitored news bulletins. Accordingly, the interviewed newsmakers were asked to discuss their sources of foreign news in general and EU news in particular, as well as any other budgetary or staffing resources that they had available for covering EU news.

As expected, all of the interviewed newsmakers stated that the majority of their EU news came from various arrangements with international news agencies and other news outlets. In particular, the British and American news agencies and services dominated. The television networks utilised by the interviewees’ outlets were: BBC, ITV Britain, BSkyB, NBC, CBS, ABC (America and Australia). In addition, a range of newspaper sources were used: Reuters, APN, NZPA, AFP, Times Group London,

⁷⁴⁷ Paul Thompson, Editor, *The Press*.

⁷⁴⁸ Simon Kilroy, Weekend Editor, *The Dominion Post*.

⁷⁴⁹ Mark Jennings, Head of News and Current Affairs, *TV3*.

the Independent, the Daily Telegraph, the Guardian, the Observer, the Economist and Business Week. With the exception of ABC (Australia), and AFP, all of these news agencies are British or American, thus showing a clear prominence of an Anglophone approach to EU news matters amongst New Zealand newsmakers.

In addition to using these international news wires and agencies, several of the interviewed news outlets also had correspondents stationed in various foreign countries. TV1's Head of News mentioned their European correspondent who was based in London, but "works out of the...Australian ABC office".⁷⁵⁰ This connection and piggybacking on the resources of another news outlet meant that TV1 was considered by the interviewee to have greater access to prospective EU news items. "[I]f the Australian ABC did a particular story about a European country's involvement in the South Pacific area or something that is relevant, then we may pick that up too".⁷⁵¹ Only one of the other news outlets that were interviewed maintained staff in Europe, having both stringers (freelance journalists, generally living abroad) and two full bureaus in London and Paris. The locations of these two correspondents, though, were seen by the respondent to affect the content of EU and European news: "We probably get more French stuff as opposed to German stuff because [our correspondent] is in Paris...[but] she doesn't just write about France, she writes about European matters".⁷⁵²

In addition to news agencies and permanently stationed correspondents, newsmakers were asked what other resources they had available for covering and researching various EU issues. The overall tone amongst the interviewees in these responses was that owing to the generally low level of importance attached to EU news, few additional resources were likely to be afforded EU coverage, because, as one noted, "...we pay for those services anyway. So it's more a question of how we use what

⁷⁵⁰ Bill Ralston, Head of News and Current Affairs, *TVNZ*.

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵² John Gardner, Editor, *The New Zealand Herald*.

we've already paid for".⁷⁵³ Despite this, some respondents did point to extra staffing prospects, for example, one respondent had "what we call our international travel budget, and if there is a major story we'd look at sending someone to cover it".⁷⁵⁴ But, this respondent went to note, this fund was reserved for more dramatic international events, like terrorism for example, and "...something like the common currency or whatever...we might take a report on the problems of implementing it...but you certainly wouldn't think about sending someone".⁷⁵⁵ Another respondent – one who had a London-based correspondent – stated that, "[i]f there was an important meeting somewhere in Europe and we considered it was important enough, we'd put our correspondent in".⁷⁵⁶ If such an event was not considered sufficiently relevant to the New Zealand context, however, then this respondent's network would "...rely on news agencies' material and [even then] may not use it".⁷⁵⁷ None of the interviewees felt a need for staff to do any sort of prior research in preparation for upcoming EU events or issues in order to cover them in their news outlet.

Finally, the newsmakers were asked to what extent they did, or could, interact with various political units, either in New Zealand or abroad, in covering EU issues. In particular, the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade was noted, "as a source of info...a kind of research resource",⁷⁵⁸ and various national embassies of EU Member States were also noted in a similar vein. The British High Commission was noted in particular, while on the other hand, few of the respondents had even heard of the European Commission Delegation located in Wellington. "No, no, never heard of them",⁷⁵⁹ was one interviewees' response to being informed that such a Delegation existed, while another claimed that "I haven't specifically heard of anything from the

⁷⁵³ Paul Thompson, Editor, *The Press*.

⁷⁵⁴ Mark Jennings, Head of News and Current Affairs, *TV3*.

⁷⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵⁶ Bill Ralston, Head of News and Current Affairs, *TVNZ*.

⁷⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵⁸ Mark Jennings, Head of News and Current Affairs, *TV3*.

⁷⁵⁹ Paul Thompson, Editor, *The Press*.

EU, or any agency of the EU”.⁷⁶⁰ Several respondents did note a possibility for greater cooperation with, for example, the EU Delegation in New Zealand: “I think there’s potential there for...an opportunity to understand things a little more and to get some background. Background briefings are fantastic and I’d welcome them coming down and talking to us”.⁷⁶¹

Directing the Flow: The Focus of EU and Foreign News

The final group of questions posed to the respondents related to their perceptions of the importance of EU-related news in the future, and also foreign news coverage more generally in the future.

While most respondents did not necessarily think that EU news would decrease dramatically in the future, nor did they see the current levels of coverage as increasingly significantly either. “I couldn’t really see if increasing greatly”,⁷⁶² was one response, while another interviewee felt similarly, because, as he said, “I think probably New Zealand isn’t as Eurocentric as it was. [Also] I think there’s not a great deal of understanding by the public of what the EU is”.⁷⁶³

In the future, these and the remaining interviewees were almost unanimous in their assessment of where the balance of foreign reporting in New Zealand in the future would be – Asia (particularly South East Asia), and the Pacific were overwhelmingly agreed on by respondents as the regions which would generate the majority of New Zealand news media attention in the future. Generally the respondents ranked their answers, and while the EU and Europe generally featured, Asia, the Pacific, Australia and usually the United States were all ranked more highly. “Australia is our number

⁷⁶⁰ Bill Ralston, Head of News and Current Affairs, *TVNZ*.

⁷⁶¹ Paul Thompson, Editor, *The Press*.

⁷⁶² Mark Jennings, Head of News and Current Affairs, *TV3*.

⁷⁶³ Paul Thompson, Editor, *The Press*.

one source of foreign news”,⁷⁶⁴ noted one interviewee, “...[then] the Pacific, which is increasingly becoming important. And then Asia. But alongside that we’re always interested in Britain because of those cultural ties, but Britain as distinct from the EU...and we’re interested in America as well”.⁷⁶⁵ One news editor felt that “...we will get less European. Increasingly we are more Asian and Pacific...and the influence of what happens to China in the next few years [is] more important to us [than is] what happens in the enlargement of the EU”.⁷⁶⁶ This same respondent went on to state that “Europe is not going to go away. [But] my guess would be that it will diminish a bit”.⁷⁶⁷

8.3 IMAGES OF THE EU FROM THE NEWSROOM

A variety of trends have emerged from this investigation of New Zealand newsmakers’ perceptions towards the EU generally, and towards reporting it specifically. Many of these can be seen to have consequences for EU news coverage in New Zealand.

As was anticipated, the newsmakers from both media expressed largely similar perceptions of the EU, and of covering the Union in their news media. Broadly, the personal perceptions of the interviewed newsmakers towards the EU can be seen to be guided by a degree of apathy. All of the interviewees associated the EU primarily with agricultural trade, and with bureaucracy, and saw little relevance of the EU for New Zealand beyond the scope of the trading relationship, which, many were quick to point out, was tarnished by the EU’s trade distorting practices. While the EU-New Zealand relationship was generally viewed as reasonable, the respondents were far

⁷⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶⁶ John Gardner, Editor, *The New Zealand Herald*.

⁷⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

from effusive about it, and most perceived that the EU was of little real consequence to New Zealand and to New Zealanders.

In fact, this indifference extended beyond the EU-New Zealand relationship and into the wider global environment also. Most of the newsmakers remarked that they believed the EU to be really only an economic power, and that its global influence was limited to dictating the direction of international trading matters. While many respondents felt that the EU did have the potential to be a global political leader, they also felt that it was being held back in becoming a 'counterbalance' to the US, largely because of what they perceived to be its internal fragmentation.

In light of these often negative, and at best apathetic, perceptions of the EU, it was unsurprising then to find that most respondents also gave little weight to news coverage of the Union. The interviewees were almost unanimous in their conviction that the primary reason for coverage on foreign actors like the EU was a connection to the local context, and, in accordance to their personal perceptions, most could see little relevance of EU matters for New Zealand beyond the scope of economics and trade. Occasionally, however, news from the EU was considered to be suitable for providing 'light relief' in otherwise heavy broadcast bulletins or newspapers; the overly bureaucratic nature of the EU was often considered fodder for the more unusual news sections.

As was expected, the interviewees confirmed that the majority of their EU news coverage was purchased through their agreements with various international news agencies and sources. Additionally, those foreign news 'wires' that were utilised were overwhelmingly Anglo, most being either British or American, with one Australian outlet also mentioned. Arguably, these news services will bring very distinct perspectives that to an EU news item which may influence the particular news representations of the Union. The British news media have a long history of

Euroscepticism⁷⁶⁸ which conceivably could filter through to the news items they produce for international sales. America, often considered to be the world's only superpower, is arguably being challenged in many spheres by the 'softer', emerging EU superpower,⁷⁶⁹ and it may well be in the interests of the American press to focus on the negative elements of the EU; those which depict a destabilised image and promote a representation of the EU that depicts it to be less than it is. The dominance of only Anglo news sources may also affect the perceived relevance of the EU for New Zealand's newsmakers. Since the UK and US perspective on both the EU, and foreign policy more generally is often quite different to the New Zealand perspective, particularly with regard to matters like the Iraq war, arguably by utilising only these news sources, important and highly relevant connections between the EU and New Zealand may be lost.

The interviewed newsmakers did not appear to consider this as a problem however, with most claiming that their wire service subscriptions provided them with more than sufficient foreign news coverage, particularly of an actor like the EU. As such, most news editors saw little need for staff to do additional research on upcoming EU news matters, and many seemed at a loss to imagine a sufficiently newsworthy EU event that would warrant increased coverage by their outlet. In fact, the comment by one television network chief was particularly enlightening. This respondent made a point of saying that under a very few circumstances, they might consider putting their London-based correspondent into another EU Member State, but most often they would just use the news feed services, and even then, would often not bother using the provided material. While it is important not to place too much stock in one comment, taken together with the overall apathy of the newsmakers towards the EU, this comment indicates just how little interest the EU generates amongst the gatekeepers of New Zealand's news media.

⁷⁶⁸ Menno Spiering, "British Euroscepticism", in *Euroscepticism: Party Politics, National Identity and European Integration*, edited by Robert Harmsen and Menno Spiering, (Amsterdam/New York: Editions Rodopi, 2004).

⁷⁶⁹ Natalia Chaban, Jessica Bain and Katrina Stats, "'Frenemies'", 85.

While most of the respondents did not perceive that EU news would decline dramatically in the future, nor did they see that EU coverage would increase either, instead seeing that their foreign news focus would increasingly shift towards the Asia-Pacific area, which they felt was of greater relevance to the New Zealand context. Obviously, there is a clear geographic connection between New Zealand and the Asia-Pacific, which does account to some degree for this particular emphasis on the Asian region by newsmakers, but it does not account for what seems to be an anomaly between the perceptions of the newsmakers on the one hand, with the objective reality of the EU on the other.

The reality is that the EU is a highly relevant partner for New Zealand, as has been discussed at length in this thesis. In addition to accounting for a significant proportion of New Zealand's external trade, the EU is a focal point for New Zealand foreign policy, and the Union itself is a key player in the Pacific region. And yet, only one of the interviewees acknowledged the role of the EU in development assistance in the Pacific, for example, arguably indicating that the remaining newsmakers are either unaware of this vital EU role in New Zealand's immediate region, or that they simply do not find such a matter of interest. It seems difficult to believe the latter, since the interviewees were so constant in their claim that local and regional relevance is the leading factor prompting foreign news coverage in their media outlets. It would be expected that if the interviewees were aware of the integral role that the EU plays in the development and stabilisation of the Pacific region – a theme which clearly connects to their professed values of newsworthiness – then this subject would have warranted some degree of news attention. As has been seen in previous chapters, however, this theme did not appear at all in the New Zealand television news coverage in 2004.

It is possible that this lack of perceived relevance of the EU for New Zealand may be a result of the dominance of the foreign news wires within the newsrooms themselves.

Newsmakers, particularly in a small country like New Zealand so geographically removed from many global events, must in many ways rely on the ‘raw’ information that is available to them through their subscriptions to news wires, in order to construct their news bulletins and papers. Since the news agencies that the New Zealand newsmakers in particular rely on are primarily British or American, and since these agencies produce news items that are nationally non-specific so that they might sell widely,⁷⁷⁰ there will be a predictable lack of any local, or indeed regional, connection to the EU in such items. In this manner, the newsmakers are themselves only provided with a rather generic picture of the EU, and it may be expected therefore that domestically relevant links may be less readily made.

The continued insistence by newsmakers on viewing the EU as an almost exclusively economic entity also has consequences for its projected news coverage. By failing to be aware of the extent of the EU’s global influence – which, while far from exemplary, does extend beyond economics and trade – newsmakers are arguably missing an important element of the international environment. If they are unaware, or uninterested, in the developments of the EU, then it can be expected that the information that is provided to local news audiences via the news media will also be largely unconcerned with such developments. Additionally, in television news particularly, continued perceptions of the EU as solely an economic entity will arguably always impair the levels of EU news coverage. Television news has been described previously by newsmakers as a medium which is unsuited for dealing with complex issues like economics,⁷⁷¹ and if that is all that the EU is seen by newsmakers to be involved in, then it is unsurprising that low levels of EU coverage prevail.

⁷⁷⁰ See Chapter 4 for more detailed discussion of this aspect.

⁷⁷¹ Gordon Campbell, “Inside the Richard and Judy Show”, 17.

8.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has investigated the perceptions of New Zealand's leading newsmakers about the EU, and how they present EU news to their audiences. Interviews were conducted with these news professionals in order to reveal the underlying newsroom practices and attitudes which may affect the way in which the EU is portrayed in the New Zealand news media. The results of these in-depth interviews have proven enlightening, and also in many ways, concerning.

Overall, the perceptions of the newsmakers were guided by a general indifference towards the EU, and a particular failure to see any real relevance of the EU for their local news audiences. The EU was considered to be failing in its efforts at global political leadership, because it was perceived to be suffering from a severe fragmentation between its various Member States. In line with these perceptions, the coverage of the EU in New Zealand's television news media was found to be limited in both volume and scope, and was found particularly to be lacking any domestic connection, thus distancing the EU from the ordinary lives of New Zealand news consumers.

It is argued that accounting for the perceptions of newsmakers is a fundamental component to studies of news images, because the editors and heads of news are the chief gatekeepers in a news organisation. They operate to set the news agenda within an outlet, and if they perceive of something as having little news value, then that sets the standard for coverage of that matter in their bulletins. Indeed, the perception of the interviewees that their coverage of the EU was likely to increase in the immediate future does not bode well for the Union as it seeks to establish a role for itself in the world. However, gaining these insights into newsmakers' perceptions may prove useful for overcoming the problems of EU news coverage in New Zealand.

One way of perhaps addressing the interviewees largely outdated perceptions of the EU, and correspondingly, increasing the levels of EU coverage, may be for greater interaction between the European Commission Delegation in New Zealand with the relevant news outlets. Indeed, such a suggestion was welcomed by several of the interviewees. Conceivably, Delegations could provide background briefings to news outlets on a general basis, providing up-to-date information about the EU's activities in New Zealand's immediate region, but also more widely. In addition, the Delegations could offer expert opinions on unfolding events in which the EU plays a role, or may even be able to provide the relevant information for newsmakers to more readily see areas of shared importance between the EU and New Zealand. The fact that most of the newsmakers interviewed had not heard of the then-recently established Delegation office in Wellington is significant, and arguably indicates that there is room for improvement in this regard. It is constructive that the newsmakers were generally seen to welcome such developments.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

“The reality is that the European Union is still profoundly misunderstood beyond its own borders. Does this matter?”
Philip Fiske de Gouveia⁷⁷²

This dissertation has monitored and evaluated the images of the EU that featured in the prime-time television news bulletins of New Zealand throughout 2004. By analysing these images, the thesis aimed to provide an external perspective that might contribute to the ongoing debate about the EU’s identity. Implicit in this evaluation has been the notion that a perspective from outside can provide valuable and alternate understandings of the Union, which may, in turn, contribute to improving the legitimacy, democratic and communication problems that the European integration process faces.

The legitimacy crisis suffered by the EU was considered to be prompted by both institutional and ideological factors, each of which has been discussed widely in the literature. Institutionally, the lack of accountability of EU institutions to the citizens of Europe, as well as a fundamental lack of wide-ranging public discourse on EU policies and developments were among the key features argued to have led to the failure of the EU to achieve popular legitimation. In addition, the various problems associated with the EU’s supposed democratic deficit were considered to play an important role in the Union’s legitimation, or lack thereof. Ideologically, it has been contended that the lack of public identification with the European integration project has contributed to the legitimacy crisis, because, it has been argued, without feeling some degree of connection to the EU, the public will never fully confer legitimacy to

⁷⁷² Philip Fiske de Gouveia and Hester Plumridge, *European Infopolitik*, 5.

its actions and processes. The EU's inability to effectively communicate itself and its policies to the citizens of Europe was also considered to be an important contributing factor to this lack of public identification, because if EU citizens have insufficient or inaccurate information about the EU and what it is and does, then they will continue to feel distanced from it.

As an international actor aiming to take an increasingly active role in world affairs, yet also an actor suffering from many problems within its own borders, it has been argued that the EU may find external perspectives on its activities useful as it works to improve its internal legitimacy. Indeed, it has been seen that a growing area of scholarship on the EU argues the importance of accounting for the perceptions of the EU's international partners, and that these perceptions can contribute to the formulation and evaluation of EU policies, function to boost the EU's international recognition, as well as contribute to the ongoing identity problems suffered by the Union.

Using such assumptions as a foundation, this thesis aimed to establish an external perspective on the EU by examining the representations and images of the EU that appeared in the television news media of one of the EU's external partners, New Zealand. Despite the stated importance of external considerations on the EU, very few such studies exist which examine the perceptions of the EU's 'Others', located outside the borders of the EU, thus making the importance of this particular research all the more significant. The official EU-New Zealand relationship was seen to be strong, both historically and in the present, and the two partners have been aligned on several high-profile foreign policy matters. Additionally, New Zealand's history of European immigration and the continued links between New Zealanders and the EU Member States established during the two-way travel and tourism connections were considered to make New Zealand an excellent case study for viewing the EU from outside.

The discourse of the news media was considered in this research to play a fundamental role in shaping the perceptions of people towards international phenomena, such as the ever-changing EU in this particular study, by constructing images of such actors and selecting which aspects of those actors to frame in their images. These images are considered to be particularly powerful in cases of foreign news, because the majority of such news happens outside the immediate experiences of people, and they are therefore especially dependent on the news media to provide them with relevant information.

Although newspapers remain a key source of foreign news for the general public, and the internet is increasingly considered a threat to the traditional news media, this study was restricted to monitoring the television news because it was found to be the primary source of information for New Zealanders when seeking information about the EU. Additionally, television news is widely considered for many people to be the sole source of information in matters of foreign policy in particular. As such, it was argued that television news has a fundamental role in constructing the images that New Zealanders have of an international actor like the EU.

The thesis employed multiple methodologies of content analysis, visual analysis and elite interviews to address the primary research question: *How is the EU framed in the television news media of New Zealand, an external 'Other' of the EU?* Several other research sub-questions were also posed in order to more fully answer this broad question. The remainder of this chapter will first summarise the results of the thesis' analysis, before asking what the implications of these findings are for the EU, and indeed, for New Zealand, and how these might be addressed. Finally the chapter presents avenues for future studies which may build on the work of this thesis.

9.1 THE FINDINGS:

THE EU ON NEW ZEALAND TELEVISION NEWS IN 2004

Chapter 4 addressed the first research sub-question - *what are the essential content features of the EU's image on New Zealand television news?* In doing so, the chapter explored the manner in which the New Zealand prime time television news media portrayed the EU, focusing in particular on the formal characteristics of that coverage, including the volume and dynamics, focus, themes, primary frames of action, EU actors and the overall evaluation of the Union's activities. The most fundamental and troubling finding overall was the disproportionately low level of EU coverage in the monitored bulletins, relative to the EU's importance for New Zealand. Only 29 news items across the entire 12 months of monitoring and across both channels were identified. Additionally, this total was unevenly distributed across the year, with some months showing high peaks in EU interest, and many months displaying no coverage at all, thus meaning that the EU was more often invisible for New Zealand audiences than it was visible.

However, those news items which were identified are important, as arguably they are providing many audience members with their only 'visions' of the EU, and this thesis has argued that it is critical to understand in greater detail exactly what these images say about the EU, regardless of their overall volume. The analysis revealed that when it was presented, the EU was framed in a very specific way; a way which emphasised its strength as a global political actor. Primarily, EU television news items were found to be presented from the perspective of either the EU itself, or from that of a third country, and the EU was presented most often as the major focus of a news item. Politically-framed EU news overwhelmingly dominated the New Zealand coverage, with only a small proportion presenting EU social affairs news or economically-framed news.

The analysis in Chapter 4 also found that the various themes of EU that were found in the news items emphasised two topics in particular; EU enlargement news and EU international relations. Additionally, a variety of themes that addressed globally prominent issues like human rights, terrorism and security, international elections and military crises were also presented, and were argued to depict the EU as being involved in a range of globally prominent areas. These different areas of EU action were generally considered to contain one of three particular values of newsworthiness – being a prominent event, a timely event or an event or issue that contained a level of controversy or conflict within it. While most news items were found to avoid explicit evaluation of the EU, when an evaluation was made, the study found that the EU was more likely to be evaluated positively than negatively.

The discussion of the New Zealand findings argued that although the presentation of the EU in a favourable light through its international actions was likely to be positive for the Union, the fact that it was almost never depicted in a manner which denoted its relevance for the New Zealand domestic context was problematic, as it created an image of the EU as distant and foreign, and therefore – it was argued – of little concern to the daily lives of New Zealanders. It was proposed that one cause of this lack of domestic contextualisation of EU news items, a fact which ran contrary to the objective reality in which the EU is of very direct relevance for New Zealand, stemmed from the prominent use by the New Zealand television news networks of the international news wires in their sourcing of EU news items. It was argued that these news services produce largely generic internationalised coverage of actors like the EU, so that they might sell their news stories to a range of different national media systems, and thus there was very little likelihood of the consequences of an EU development or action being explicitly described in the context of New Zealand.

Another aspect of the analysis which was argued to be problematic for the EU's external perceptions was the lack of a single unitary representative of the EU featuring in the news items. Instead, the analysis revealed that the various Member States and

leaders or officials of those Member States were routinely prioritised over those of the Union itself, which was argued to contribute to a largely fragmented image of the EU; one in which it was seen to be involved in prominent international areas, but where its constituent pieces were considered to be greater than their combined whole.

It was considered important to contextualise the New Zealand findings, by comparing them to the EU's representation on two prime-time television news bulletins in three other countries: Australia, South Korea and Thailand. This was considered important for a number of reasons. Firstly it was conducted to provide a comparison to the New Zealand findings and to determine whether they were exceptional or a case of relatively normal EU coverage beyond its borders; secondly, it was expected that by broadening the scope of the analysis, regional trends towards representing the EU might emerge; and finally, making such a comparison was considered to heighten the validity of the New Zealand findings, in light of the small size of the gathered New Zealand data set. Thus, Chapter 5 addressed a second research sub-question – *how does the New Zealand television news framing of the EU compare with that of the wider Asia-Pacific region?*

Despite the four countries in the comparison representing a variety of economic, political, cultural and social contexts, the analysis in Chapter 5 revealed that in many aspects their television news coverage of the EU was similar. It was found that the rather sporadic coverage in New Zealand was broadly replicated in the other three countries, although the two Pacific countries shared a much lower overall level of EU television news compared to the Asian countries which were found to have presented a much higher volume throughout 2004.

The New Zealand trend of framing the EU's actions from a largely political perspective was followed in the other three countries, as was the focus on particularly EU external political actions and not matters concerning the EU's internal political integration. Additionally, the low level of economically-framed EU news that was

found in New Zealand was mirrored in the Asia-Pacific countries, with the exception of Thailand which featured a remarkably high volume of economically-related EU news. This aspect of the Thai case was exceptional because of the outbreak of avian flu in the Asian country during 2004, and the EU coverage pertained to the Union's decision to ban Thai poultry exports. Indeed, it was found in Chapter 5 that the specific themes or topics of EU action in 2004 varied across the four countries, although the two topics that were prominent in New Zealand – EU international affairs and enlargement coverage – were also found to be important themes in the other three countries.

The additional three countries were also found to share a preference with New Zealand for featuring the various Member States of the EU more prominently than the Community actors, a trend which was argued to counter the rather strong representation of the EU that was achieved through the emphasis on EU external political actions. Indeed, while the latter constructed an image of the EU as a strong and highly engaged international actor, the consistent prioritising of the various EU Member States was argued to create an image of the EU as a global power that lacked any cohesion.

One of the most notable findings in Chapter 5 was that, in addition to the similarities discussed above, many aspects of the analysis were found to vary between the two sub-regions – the Pacific countries and the Asian countries. This Pacific/Asian split was found particularly in the focus of domesticity in the news items, whereby Australia was found to share the New Zealand trend for featuring primarily EU or third country focused EU news, and the two Asian countries on the other hand featured a much higher share of locally-concerned EU news. It was argued that one of the contributing factors for this finding was the sourcing patterns, with Australia and New Zealand television news networks tending to utilise the foreign news agencies, while the two Asian countries were found to make much greater use of local sources,

who would correspondingly be more able to seek out a local angle in the EU news reports.

Based on the range of similarities that were identified in Chapter 5 between New Zealand and its nearest neighbour, Australia, a deeper analysis was conducted comparing the two Pacific cases' representations of the EU in two situations: assessing an internal EU perspective, Chapter 6 reviewed the two countries' portrayals of the EU's enlargement processes throughout 2004; and considering an external perspective on the EU, Chapter 7 assessed the EU's international relations coverage in New Zealand and Australia. Chapters 6 and 7 addressed another research sub-question by examining *the in-depth visual and textual features of the New Zealand and Australian EU news coverage*. In doing so, both case studies involved a deeper analysis of the metaphoric imagery that was identified in the news texts, and an analysis of the accompanying visual images.

Chapter 6 revealed that there were more similarities between the two countries' enlargement portrayals than differences, with both countries focusing almost exclusively on the political aspects of the EU's 2004 and possible future enlargements, and both featuring a relatively consistent level of conflict/controversy-based enlargement coverage. It was also found that very few EU actors were identified in the news texts, but those who did appear were generally either the Member States themselves, or ordinary EU people. The visual analysis conducted in Chapter 6 revealed that both New Zealand and Australian television news audiences were presented largely similar images of enlargement, with a focus on crowds of people – either celebrating enlargement as a joyous occurrence, or protesting it as a controversial development – or black-suited male EU officials, as well as images of European architectural structures and bridges which were argued to be used as almost official symbols of the EU, as both 'symbols' were used on the euro banknotes to denote the coming together of many different countries (bridges) as well as their shared heritage of culture and human civilisation (architectural motifs). Additionally,

in the visual analysis of enlargement coverage, both New Zealand and Australian news items were found to feature a large number of the EU's official symbols – the flag and circle of stars. It was argued that although the enlargement was symbolic of a coming together of the 'whole' of Europe, the frequent portrayals of protestors indicated that there was still disharmony within the Union.

Chapter 6's analysis also revealed that while many features of the EU's enlargement coverage were shared between the two Pacific countries, in the analysis of the metaphors, a variety of country-specific differences were identified. In particular, the metaphors identified in the New Zealand news items regarding the 2004 EU enlargement were found to focus on the celebratory features of the event, and the strength and stability of the growing EU. Australian news metaphors of the same event, on the other hand, were found to instead prioritise imagery that was associated with EU elitism, and also images were indicated that the EU was at risk of being overwhelmed with its latest additions. These rather negative Australian metaphoric images were also found to feature in New Zealand's coverage, but, significantly, only in connection to the prospective enlargements of the future, particularly Turkey's possible accession to the Union.

Chapter 7 contained the second detailed case study investigated in the thesis; the EU's international relations. The analysis revealed that while New Zealand and Australia have very different positions in many areas of foreign policy – notably their stance towards the war in Iraq – both countries presented a broadly similar image of the EU as an external affairs actor. This image was argued to be one characterised by a significant level of ambiguity and paradox. It was found that although the EU was shown as involved in areas of global priority – like the Middle East and Iraq – it was generally only shown as one of many actors, and seldom the main one, thus negating much of its initial influence, it was argued. Additionally, it was found that the actors who were seen to represent the EU – both in the written news texts and in the onscreen visual images – were all very similar in appearance and action. These actors,

who were understood to be the various ‘officials’ representing the EU, were primarily male and dressed in black suits, and were seen generally either posing for photos, speaking to one another or shaking hands. It was argued that by dressing and acting in a similar manner, these actors contributed to the overall anonymity of the EU, whereby it is considered to be a largely faceless international actor that lacks the political celebrity of its ‘rival superpower’, the United States. Adding to this anonymity, it was also found in Chapter 7 that very few visual images which symbolised the EU itself appeared in the relevant news items. While the enlargement coverage had been full of images that represented the EU, in particular the EU flag and circle of stars, these images were notably absent in the international affairs’ analysis.

One of the key features of the metaphoric imagery that was found in many of the international affairs news items was that of the EU as a person engaged in military or army action, and this was combined with the frequent visual images of soldiers, tanks, bomb-struck buildings, guns and other images of war. The chapter argued that these images contributed to the overall paradox associated with the EU as an international actor, because since the EU itself has limited military capability, and indeed what it does have was not currently deployed in any of the areas referenced in the news items, by frequently associating it with military images, the EU was arguably depicted as an often impotent actor – wanting to be involved in areas of global conflict, but shown as lacking the ability and resources to truly engage.

The final results chapter of this thesis aimed to address the final research sub-question – *how does the framing of the EU relate to the dominant values and processes of foreign news production in New Zealand?* In doing so, it provided a newsmakers’ perspective on the various EU news images that had emerged during 2004. Interviews were conducted with the leading news editors and heads of news and current affairs at a range of New Zealand media outlets. It was found in the analysis of these interviews that the New Zealand media ‘elite’ generally perceive the EU to be a primarily

economic actor with very little relevance for New Zealand itself or for the people of New Zealand. In addition, the newsmakers were found to consider the EU to be a troubled international actor whose efforts at taking a leading role in the world were being thwarted by its failure to generate a consensus among its Member States. The interviewees saw little of news value in the EU, unless it was as a human interest oddity that could be used to break up the monotony of the daily news bulletins. Indeed, it was found that the newsmakers' perceptions and explanations of the EU's news coverage matched many aspects of the 2004 news coverage, in its limited volume and scope, and in the lack of any domestic connection with the EU.

9.2 IMPLICATIONS

What then, do all of these findings mean? Broadly, the EU has been found in this analysis to be framed in the television news media of New Zealand as an often fragmented and largely disengaged international actor. Additionally, and perhaps most significantly, the EU was also found to be frequently invisible. The comparative analysis conducted in this study has not only served to increase the validity of the New Zealand findings, but has also established that the New Zealand case is not abnormal, and is instead mirrored in many ways in other countries outside of the EU's borders.

At the beginning of this chapter Philip Fiske de Gouveia of the Foreign Policy Centre in London, was cited as asking whether it matters if the EU is misunderstood outside of its borders. This thesis contends that the categorical answer to this question is yes, it does matter, and more importantly, it matters not just for the EU, but for its external partners also. The findings provide clear evidence that the EU suffers not only from an internal communications deficit, but from an external one also. The image of the EU – when visible – failed to depict the many facets of the Union's role, but instead focused on a limited range of specific activities. The fact that New Zealand's

newsmakers view it as little more than an economic partner for their country indicates that they have an outdated picture of the EU, which may impair not only their own judgements of the newsworthiness of EU events, but may also influence the way in which New Zealanders come to view the EU.

For New Zealand, if it is to continue to have a meaningful dialogue with the EU, it is important that there be a shift in these rather outdated images. By considering the EU as solely an economic actor, New Zealand may be missing out on developments with the Union in other areas of common interest in social policies and indeed in political actions. Since the importance of the EU for New Zealand is arguably greater than the importance of New Zealand for the EU, it is critical that these opportunities are not missed.

For the EU, however, the findings of this research may have many more implications. It was argued at the outset of this dissertation that if the study found that the EU was considered to be a vital and dynamic international actor, this might contribute to dispelling some of the apathy that EU citizens currently feel towards the Union. However, the opposite is also true. The extent of the international news media apathy towards the EU that has been outlined in this research is troubling, as it arguably indicates that far from considering the EU negatively, those outside the EU simply do not consider it at all most of the time. A continuation of this trend could lead to low expectations of the EU as an international counterpart, and if the world does not expect the Union to act effectively, then there is a possibility that this may feed back into the development of EU policies like its development and humanitarian assistance policies.

Likewise, the repeated image – and indeed perception among the interviewed newsmakers – of the EU as a highly fragmented and divided entity may serve to negate many of the efforts by the Union to present a united front in certain areas. The lack of a clear EU representative adds to this image, and makes it all the more difficult

for the world outside the EU to truly recognise the Union as an international actor of importance. Since the EU aims to become a force for “stability, cooperation, and understanding” in the world,⁷⁷³ it must do more to ensure that its actions in doing so are how it is viewed by the world, or it will arguably continue to suffer from a lack of legitimacy, not only from within, but increasingly from outside also.

9.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

A number of recommendations can be made using the findings of this research as a foundation, which will assist in raising the EU’s profile in New Zealand, and may result in a more comprehensive image of the Union within the television news media. Specifically, recommendations can be suggested for the EU, as well as the New Zealand media. While these recommendations are specifically intended for the New Zealand context, it is likely that they will be applicable in the EU’s relations with many of its other international partners.

9.3.1 EU Recommendations

The largest group of recommendations proposed here are directed towards the EU itself, because much of the responsibility must lie with the Union if it desires to improve its international profile. First and foremost, it is argued that the EU must do more to promote an effective dialogue with its external partners. Just as the communication deficit exists between the EU and its citizens, the very invisibility of the EU within the New Zealand television news space indicates that an external communications deficit exists also. Engaging with its partner countries more effectively and thoroughly will arguably work to heighten the EU’s profile both within that country, and more widely. A range of activities would function to establish this stronger dialogue.

⁷⁷³ European Commission, “A World-Player”.

The Commission's Delegations must be used more effectively and must be made more efficient in their outreach into the local communities. As was seen in Chapter 5, the Delegation in Bangkok was the most prominent actor in all of the Thai coverage, and indeed ranked among the most prominent actors across the region, however this visibility was not matched by the parallel Delegations in South Korea, Australia or New Zealand. Additionally, Thailand was found to have the highest overall levels of EU coverage, and while it is clearly not the only influencing factor, it could be argued that the much higher profile of the Delegation within this country contributed to the greater EU visibility overall in Thailand also. The Delegation Office in New Zealand, on the other hand, not only failed to appear in the EU news items, but very few of the interviewed newsmakers had even heard of it. While it was very recently established in New Zealand at the time of this analysis, and there is thus hope that it may increase in visibility over time, it is imperative that these on-the-ground representatives be used more effectively to increase the EU's profile within a country.

Increasing the Delegations' budgets must be a first step in this process, as they are generally understood as operating with relatively limited resources,⁷⁷⁴ and in the case of New Zealand where the Delegation office is only a 'branch' of the official Delegation to Australia and New Zealand based in Canberra, arguably these resources are even more limited. Increasing the budget and staffing resources available to the New Zealand-based *Charge d'Affairs* will allow them and their staff to become more active in the local community, thus raising the EU's profile and enhancing awareness of the range of activities in which the EU is involved.

One prospect for enhancing the EU's visibility within New Zealand would be to sponsor events which highlight the EU's cultural 'persona', and particularly, publicise such events widely, and, where possible, using the television media. The Commission

⁷⁷⁴ Michael Bruter, "Diplomacy Without a State: The External Delegations of the European Commission", *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, No. 2, (1999), 190.

Delegation to Thailand, for example, hosts an annual European Film Festival, among many other culturally-oriented events.⁷⁷⁵ New Zealand already has internationally-themed film festivals, and there could well be scope for hosting an annual event which highlights the strong cinematic tradition of EU Member States. Indeed, prior to the completion of this dissertation, the EU itself, through its EUtube webpage,⁷⁷⁶ had been screening clips of European movies which the EU felt highlighted the diversity and quality of European cinema. One rather risqué film clip posted by the EU (showing love scenes from many European films⁷⁷⁷) was so popular that it had drawn almost 4 million ‘hits’ at the time of writing this thesis, and had caused international media attention,⁷⁷⁸ thus indicating the interest that can be garnered from involvement in such ‘pop’ culture affairs. Likewise, the Delegations’ co-sponsoring of art exhibitions, theatre and musical performances would also arguably operate to raise the profile of the EU, and would assist in tangibly linking the EU to cultural matters in the minds of New Zealanders.

Utilising people-to-people connections would be another manner in which the EU could establish its profile more prominently within New Zealand. As a country of immigrants, and with a continued high level of European immigrants, New Zealand has many local groups of different European immigrants which could assist in co-hosting other cultural events like European food and beverage festivals. Once again, publicising these events widely, and encouraging television attention to them may help to encourage newsmakers to see that the EU can and does have a familial rapport with many New Zealanders.

⁷⁷⁵ European Commission Delegation to Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Burma/Myanmar, http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/Thailand/thailand_culture.htm. For other cultural events the Commission Delegation in Thailand is involved in, see: <http://www.deltha.ec.europa.eu/EU%20cultural%20events/EU%20cultural%20calendar.htm>

⁷⁷⁶ European Commission, “EUTube”.

⁷⁷⁷ European Commission, “Film Lovers will Love this!”, *EUTube*, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=koRIFnBIDH0>.

⁷⁷⁸ See for example: Alan Riding, “So That’s What They Mean by European Union”, *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 14 2007, <http://www.smh.com.au/news/world/so-thats-what-they-mean-by-european-union/2007/07/13/1183833774292.html>; Stephen Mulvey, “Sexy Clip Lifts EU YouTube Debut”.

Such involvement need not be limited to cultural events either. As a country that is more than enthusiastic about sports, New Zealand would be a good place for initiating functions relating to Europe-based sports events. The America's Cup in EU Member State, Spain, as well as the Football World Cup, and indeed the Rugby World Cup in 2007 are all events which could be connected to Delegation hosted functions. These need not be large events, but could simply involve the hosting of live coverage of certain prominent games where interested locals could come along and watch, enjoy some refreshments and celebrate the sporting interactions between the EU Member States and New Zealand. Recommendations like this, and the cultural ones discussed above are in all probability not likely to make the prime-time television news bulletins, but that does not mean that they cannot be television events in themselves. Other television news formats, such as the more magazine-style breakfast news programmes which feature a much higher level of 'human interest' and cultural affairs coverage would be ideal for highlighting these types of events, and for showcasing the EU's interaction with ordinary New Zealanders.

Raising awareness of the EU's specific policy areas is another area which this thesis contends should be enhanced in New Zealand. As was seen in the interviews with New Zealand newsmakers, and indeed with the New Zealand public opinion discussed in Chapter 1, the EU's economic capacity is the primary way in which it is viewed in New Zealand. Few New Zealanders (either media elites or the general population) indicated any knowledge of the EU's many development assistance programmes, or its involvement in human rights around the world, or the steps towards climate change that it promotes. Likewise, there was no television news coverage of the EU's involvement in development assistance in the Pacific Islands, nor in its environmental policies, for example. The Commission Delegation could work towards hosting a regular series of lectures or public debates on topical issues, like climate change, and involving local experts as well as possibly bringing over European experts. In this way, the Delegations would be able to cooperate with local

government, as well as tertiary education facilities, and possibly even national government, thus giving the EU a more prominent involvement in areas of very direct local concern.

More specifically relating to the themes of this thesis, the Delegation must become more effective in engaging with local media. Several of the newsmakers who were interviewed in this research indicated that they would be open to, and indeed would welcome, the Delegation providing them with background briefings or research regarding relevant EU news events, and yet there was little to suggest from these newsmakers that this is currently being done. To begin with, issuing a weekly press release highlighting upcoming newsworthy EU events, is one very immediate way of initiating greater contact between the Delegation and the New Zealand news media. Electronic mailing means that this could be done with minimal costs. However, issuing such statements is not sufficient for raising the news media profile of the EU. These media releases must make a very deliberate point of emphasising *local* (either domestic or even regional) connections with the actions of the EU. The news media have specific priorities in their news production processes, and as was seen in the interviews conducted in this study, one of the most important is addressing events of local relevance. Therefore, in order for the EU's profile to be raised within its external partner countries, it must work within these boundaries and seek to make itself more locally relevant. Indeed, this should not be a difficult process, as the EU is already involved in areas of particular interest for many countries, but this needs to be emphasised more strongly by those EU representatives on the ground in the local countries, because at present it seems that these domestic connections are not being made.

Since it was found in this study that New Zealand television news bulletins rely heavily on pre-purchased news items, it may be that the Delegation could draw newsmakers' attention to the Europe By Satellite service which provides free EU-related audiovisual material to news organisations. Targeting television news outlets

in particular must be a focus for the Delegation staff, as there is a clear lack of EU news attention by this medium in New Zealand currently. The Delegation does sponsor an EU Journalism Award for one New Zealand journalist to spend time in Brussels and various other EU Member States,⁷⁷⁹ but perhaps more could be done to ensure that such an award is made available for television news journalists. Providing two awards, one for press and one for broadcast journalists may be an option. While this Award appears to be an excellent way of bringing New Zealand journalists to the very heart of Europe, it was significant that one of the newsmakers interviewed in this study mentioned that he had had staff win this award in the past, but had found that on their return, there was very little interest or follow-up given by EU representatives here, and thus as the Head of News, he felt the award had been a waste of resources.⁷⁸⁰ While his organisation had not had to pay for that staff member's trip to Europe, while they were away, other people had to cover their duties during that time, and since it seemed that there was little interest in the EU stories that were presented on the journalists' return, he saw little point in encouraging future staff to apply. While this was the experience of only one newsmaker, the comments are significant. Delegation staff must use opportunities like the Journalism Award to foster connections with the New Zealand news media, and particularly with the television news media, and must show an active interest in the outcome of such promotions. Simply sending a journalist to Europe is not enough.

9.3.2 New Zealand Media Recommendations

Although this thesis has made particular efforts at avoiding a 'blame the messenger' approach to EU television news coverage in New Zealand, there is little doubt that more could be done by the New Zealand television news media to increase their coverage of internationally-significant actors like the EU. The fundamental difficulty in making recommendations for the news media is that, as has been seen in this study,

⁷⁷⁹ European Commission Delegation to New Zealand, "European Union Journalism Award", <http://www.del.auls.ec.europa.eu/newzealand/press/eujan2.htm>.

⁷⁸⁰ Mark Jennings, Head of News and Current Affairs, *TV3*.

the newsmakers themselves simply do not perceive of the EU as being inherently newsworthy. Responsibility for altering this perception, while difficult, arguably lies with the EU's representations within the country – namely the Delegations – and also to a degree, to research institutes like the National Centre for Research on Europe (NCRE) at the University of Canterbury. However, in democratic societies like New Zealand, there is also a responsibility for the media to present multifaceted information to their audiences about significant foreign counterparts, so that the local public can provide informed feedback to domestic decision-makers, even in such 'elite' areas as foreign policy. Since the EU is among New Zealand's most important foreign partners, the local news media themselves should be open to accepting that it is increasingly a global actor, and more importantly, that it is an actor of importance for New Zealand both now and in the future. News organisations could seek to use the expertise of organisations like the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the European Commission Delegation, the NCRE, or indeed local business organisations like Chambers of Commerce who deal directly with the European market on a daily basis, when reporting on the sometimes complex matters of the EU. Such organisations are able to provide expert information and opinion, as well as being able to provide key information which may contextualise EU developments for the local market.

This thesis has placed much emphasis on the role of the international news agencies, and how the utilisation of their news reports can often dictate the way in which the EU is framed in the local news media. In particular, the research has found that the New Zealand television news media rely heavily on the services of English and American news organisations. While there is little doubt that locally-produced news items would have a much greater chance at being able to find different, and perhaps more relevant angles in reporting the EU, the limited resources for foreign reporting in television news networks means that there is little likelihood of the use of news 'wires' diminishing. As such, one means of working within this system and still increasing the news attention on the EU might be to look at alternative foreign news

agencies, other than the currently preferred Anglo ones. Though there may be contractual obligations which require that these existing connections be maintained, it may be that other European news organisations could also be included in the subscription packages New Zealand newsmakers have. Deutsche Welle and EuroNews, for example, also produce their items in English, and may be a valuable alternative which could at the very least bring a different perspective to the EU news that is currently presented on the New Zealand television news bulletins. If cost is an issue, which it likely is, once again the Delegation may be able to assist by bringing news organisations' attention to the Europe By Satellite service which provides extensive news resources at no cost to the news outlets.

Similarly, altering the locations of New Zealand's foreign correspondents may prove beneficial to increasing the visibility of the EU within New Zealand television news. Currently the 'European' correspondents for New Zealand are located in London, which arguably contributes to the generally Anglo perspective on the EU. By shifting correspondents to continental Europe, it may be that New Zealand begins to receive greater levels of European coverage, rather than just British news. The argument from news organisations to such a suggestion would likely be that New Zealand's focus is the United Kingdom, due to the long historical and cultural connections to the UK, however, arguably, the UK-based news organisations that already dominate so much of New Zealand's foreign news coverage – the BBC, ITV and BSkyB in particular – are already covering UK 'European' news sufficiently. By shifting their correspondents to France, Germany, Belgium or the Netherlands, New Zealand television news networks may find they can bring a different and perhaps unique dimension to the New Zealand television news bulletins. As the newsmakers themselves said, they are always seeking that something 'different' when addressing foreign news, and arguably implementing this suggestion would furnish such difference.

9.4 WHERE TO FROM HERE – SCOPE FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The findings of this study provide an excellent foundation for further research into the area of external perceptions on the EU. In particular there is scope for studies which could extend the research provided here across time, and additionally which could provide further comparative perspectives.

Because this study is the first to examine the images and representations of the EU within the New Zealand television news media, there is a need for future studies which will expand on the findings presented here, and which will analyse the images of the EU within that news space as they appear over different years. 2004 was an exceptional year in European integration, with a range of high profile EU events, but other years where there are no such events must also be monitored and compared with the findings of this analysis. It is possible that the volume of EU television news presented in this study is the largest that might be expected, but only with further research could this supposition be verified or discounted.

Other changes may also have impacted on the presentation of EU television news in New Zealand, including significant changes in the editorial staff at TVNZ, and the recent appointment of a European correspondent for TV3. Such developments may have resulted in changed editorial priorities within these networks, and future studies which include interviews with these newsmakers are imperative to a full understanding of the EU's news coverage within New Zealand.

Another avenue for fruitful research building on the findings of this thesis might be to broaden the range of monitored media. This study was restricted to the prime-time television news bulletins, however introducing other news bulletins may provide different results. The early morning breakfast news programmes which feature a lot of human interest stories, might present a very different EU 'picture', as might the business news programmes. Assessing the range of available television news formats

may provide a more complete picture of the EU which highlights a greater range of its policies and activities. Likewise, including other news networks would arguably bring another perspective into the analysis. Australian-owned *Prime Television* recently began broadcasting a half-hour 5.30pm news bulletin in an effort to compete with the dominance of TV1 and TV3 at 6pm, and comparing the EU coverage given in this alternative format may provide some noteworthy results.

Comparing EU news coverage in the local television news media to that of the local press coverage is also an important avenue for future research, since the APP project found that newspapers in New Zealand produced a significantly higher volume of EU news items, and with a more economic focus than the television news media. Continuing such comparative studies into the future is essential for seeing whether such divergent pictures of the EU continue, and how this may impact on the perceptions of New Zealanders towards the Union. Additionally, news consumers are increasingly turning to the online newspapers and magazines that are available, and arguably there is also scope for including such media in future studies.

Continuing to build on the country-comparison foundations incorporated in this thesis is also important in future studies, as the inclusion of different case studies for comparison may provide different perspectives on the EU, or, they may prove to reaffirm the findings of this research, whereby many aspects of the EU's television news image were found to be similar across four very different countries. Continuing such studies is important for accounting back to the EU on how it is perceived and represented outside of its borders.

More broadly, this thesis has provided an original and significant contribution to the study of global actors, and how they are understood beyond their own borders. As such, the approach of the thesis can arguably be used not only for studies of the European Union, but also other important international actors and organisations. Additionally, the findings of this research are of benefit to others who are researching

the specific activities of the European Union, whether this be in the area of EU enlargement, EU foreign policy or EU integration more generally.

This thesis aimed to assess the representations and images of the EU as they appeared in the New Zealand television news media through out 2004, in order to provide an external perspective on the EU, and to thus contribute to the EU's ongoing legitimacy debates. The findings and arguments presented here provide a distinct and often troubling picture of this burgeoning international power. As the Union continues its struggle to assert a role for itself on the world stage, it is imperative that the findings of studies such as this are taken into account, are developed further, and indeed are addressed, so that those outside looking in might begin to see a clearer picture of the European Union.

APPENDIX I

Content Analysis Framework (Example Shown)

Formal Characteristics						Content Characteristics					
Channel	Date	Source	Focus of Domesticity	Degree of Centrality	Primary Frame	Topic	EU Actors	Actions of Actors	Character of News	Evaluation	Conceptual Metaphor
TV1 (One News)	1-May-04	N/A	EU	Major	Political (EU Internal Political Affairs)	Enlargement	EU; People; Eastern Europe	Millions of people across Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean have celebrated entry into the European Union; Their inclusion is being hailed as the final closing of Europe's east-west divide	Prominence; Timeliness	Positive	the <i>final closing</i> of Europe's <i>east-west divide</i> = EU as an entity divided in space/repared

APPENDIX II

Visual Analysis Framework (Example Shown)

<i>Person</i>				<i>Place</i>		<i>Thing</i>	
Description	Identified?	Clothing/ Features	Action	What is setting of scene	Key features/description of setting	What objects/symbols are seen	Text?
Middle aged man	No	Black Suit, red tie	Walking towards building	Street scene in front of large modern building	Building in centre of shot (tall/modern with lots of glass), black cars parked in front, red carpet leading into building	EU flag flying, red carpet	None

APPENDIX III Example of Content Analysis

Channel → TV1 6pm News
24/09/04

Focus of Domesticity:
EU Focus (EU Enlargement primary focus)

Source: BBC

Conceptual Metaphor:

EU taking radical step

(EU as a person moving in space)

Degree of centrality: EU major (EU main actor, negotiating with Turkey)

Topic:
Enlargement (Future EU enlargement)

Anchor: A sudden back-down on a plan to lock up adulterers has put Turkey's dream of joining the European Union back on the table. EU countries had halted its application, but now the largely Muslim nation could be on the path to history.

Reporter (Stephen Sackur – BBC): Is Turkey ready for *membership*? These Turkish human rights activists think not, but inside the Brussels corridors of power, the mood? A good deal more welcoming. Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan promised EU officials he would complete *reforms to safeguard human rights and the judicial process*.

We're very serious about our reforms, Mr. Erdogan said, we're going to finish the job as soon as possible. And that was just what his EU hosts wanted to hear.

Guenther Verheugen (EU Enlargement Commissioner): From my point of view, there are no further conditions which Turkey must fulfill in order to allow the Commission to make to recommendation.

Reporter: So here in Brussels amid all these symbols of "old Europe", the European Union is contemplating a truly radical step – embracing a very large Muslim nation, which is mostly (geographically) outside of Europe. In fact, millions of Muslims live inside the European Union, including thousands here in Brussels. Accepting Turkey into the club is seen by many here as a way of showing that the Union is not an exclusive, Christian club.

Turkey – the bridge between Europe and Asia – sees EU membership as the root to prosperity, which is why the Turkish Parliament seems ready to pass *key legal reforms*, and why it's dropped a controversial plan to outlaw adultery. That had prompted anger from Turkish women's groups, and it raised questions about the cultural gap between Turkey and Europe. Turkey doesn't yet do things the EU way, but in its courts, and on the death penalty, it is changing. But for powerful opponents of Turkey's EU membership, that's not the point.

Hartmut Nassauer (German Conservatives Leader): Turkey is too far away from the centre of Europe, and I would like to concentrate this European Union idea on well, the centre of Europe, its culture.

Reporter: The Turks took a step towards the EU today, but this is a highly controversial issue.

Primary Frame:
EU Political Affairs
Subframe:
Internal Political Affairs

Evaluation:
Neutral/Negative
(Negativity due to levels of conflict-based coverage but EU seen as progressive actor which counters some negativity)

Actors:

European Community
EU Member State
Candidate Country
People

Character of News:

- Prominence / Importance
- Timeliness
- Conflict / Controversy

APPENDIX IV

New Zealand Newsmakers' Interview Questionnaire

EU coverage:

1. How is coverage of EU issues organized at TVNZ?
(Probes: Where do you get the news?
How cost effective is having correspondents on the ground vs.
purchasing news from the wires)
2. Are special preparations made in advance of presenting news on EU?
(Probe/Explanation: Research?)
3. Is a special budget allocated?
(Probe/Explanation: Additional funds allocated?)
4. Will staff reporting on the EU increase in the future?

Editorial Approach:

5. What is the officially formulated policy on covering foreign news?

5a. And the policy on news on the EU?
6. Does your media outlet assume a reactive role or proactive, initiating role?
(Probe: Are stories initiated on their own/ do you actively set the agenda)
7. Do studio headquarters and central newsroom cooperate with political units/
Ministry of Foreign Affairs/embassies/delegation (including EU Delegation)
/news organizations in Brussels?
8. Where do you see the balance of foreign reporting shifting in the future?

News selection criteria:

9. Which criteria of newsworthiness are applied when covering the EU?
9a. Are there any special criteria applied?
10. Are special news segments implemented or does news about the EU compete
equally against the other news?
(Probe: how difficult is it to sell an EU story?)

Personal perceptions:

11. When thinking about the term 'the European Union', what three thoughts come to your mind?
12. Do you see the EU as a great power?
 - If yes:
 - Why?
 - What type of great power (military – economic – diplomatic - normative?)
 - If not:
 - Why not?
13. Do you see the EU as a leader in international politics?
 - If yes:
 - What areas?
 - In what ways?
 - If not:
 - Why not?
14. In your opinion, which issues in NZ-EU interactions have the most impact on NZ?
15. On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is not important at all and 5 is very important, how would you rate the importance of the EU to NZ in the present?
16. On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is not important at all and 5 is very important, how would you rate the importance of the EU to NZ in the future?

APPENDIX V

NEWS TRANSCRIPTS

TV1 6pm News 1/05/04

Anchor: Millions of people across Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean have celebrated entry into the European Union today. Most of the ten new nations are from the former Soviet bloc. Their inclusion is being hailed as the final closing of Europe's east-west divide. Many cities exploded with fireworks and music as clocks struck midnight.

TV1 6pm News 1/05/04

Anchor: The new European Union will be the world's biggest trading bloc; 25 countries, more than 450 million people. It's already New Zealand's second largest trading export customer behind Australia, and today's expansion promises more opportunities for exporters here.

Reporter: No matter how you say it [foreign language greetings.....], it's still hello to 75 million new potential customers.

Tony O'Brian (Senior Trade Commissioner, London): It's going to become, you know, more significant, it's going to be in some ways the biggest, most richest market in the world.

Reporter: The EU expansion will bring another 4 million farmers under the Union's umbrella. Many of their farms though, are grossly inefficient and unprofitable. The push under the EU is to modernize them, and New Zealand has just the expertise for sale.

Tony O'Brian: So there's opportunities for our companies to go in there and sell products and services that will bring Central and Eastern Europe up to speed.

Reporter: John Frizzel is already moving New Zealand farm equipment into some of the new member states, including Poland and Hungary. 800km of their highways, farms and vineyards are fenced with Kiwi know-how and equipment. But the paperwork's been hell. Forms in duplicate and triplicate for everything.

John Frizzel (McArthur Cyclone Ltd.): Yes that's right, they'll come straight back if we haven't dotted the "I's" and crossed the "T's".

Reporter: But even when the paperwork's in order, there's been a culture of kickbacks.

John Frizzel: And then you find out that said person has rejected it, he needs to be looked after. Once he's been looked after, you think well we've got the order, let's get the product out there. Then you find out – oh, there's another problem. Someone else needs to be looked after.

Reporter: But entry into the European Union means an extension across the new member-states of a single set of tariffs, trade rules, and administrative procedures. But opportunities for New Zealand businesses aren't just on the farm; they're already squeezing in elsewhere. The purchasing power in the new states is rising about twice as fast as in the older member-states.

Warren Adamson (Villa Maria, Europe): Ultimately, we've all seen, you know, their spending habits are changing, so if we can tap into just a small percentage of these markets, we can really make some good headway.

Reporter: And, with a potential customer base of 75 million people, a market share of as little as one percent could be reason for New Zealand businesses to raise their glasses.
Lisa Own, One News, London.

TV3 6pm News 1/05/04

Anchor: The formation of the world's largest trading bloc has been heralded by fireworks, celebrations, speeches and singing as ten new members were welcomed into the European Union. It was Europe's biggest party since the end of the Second World War as people crossed freely into neighbouring countries, and border guards embraced each other.

Reporter: A border-spanning fireworks display as Germans welcomed their Polish neighbours into the European Union.

Poland is the biggest of the ten new nations to join the bloc. Former German Chancellor Helmut Kohl described it as an hour of happiness that he wished would stay with them in their everyday lives.

At another border, guards embraced as Italy welcomed Slovenia, one of the eight ex-communist countries joining the EU.

Earlier, the Italian and Slovenian leaders had symbolically removed a fence dividing their countries.

Anton Rop (Slovenian PM): For the EU nations, we are happy, we are proud, and we believe this is our future, our current future and we can be optimistic; let's go forth.

Reporter: One of the smallest of the EU members, Malta, hosted one of the biggest fireworks displays on Valetta Harbour. The EU's biggest expansion ever also brings in Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Cyprus, Estonia and Latvia, where they celebrated in the streets and even the dignitaries dug it. In one day the European Union has been widened to 450 million citizens creating a collective superpower rivalling the US. But some of the new nations still fear steep price increases, and a flood of immigrants as national borders gradually disappear.

Svens Dinsorf (Latvian Citizen): I think there are no special feelings, fears, or positive feelings; I mean, Latvia has been part of Europe – this is a natural process.

Reporter: For now, nothing can dampen their enthusiasm for the occasion they describe as the end of the divisions of the last century.

Bob McNeil, 3 News.

TV1 6pm News 2/05/04

Anchor: European Union leaders have formally celebrated the admission of ten new members at ceremony in the Irish capital of Dublin. Flags of all 25 nations were raised in a symbolic show of unity. Poland's president lead the leaders in spontaneous hugging and hand-shaking, but away from the formal photo-calls, clashes between anti-globalisation protestors and police were a reminder of discontent over the EU's free market policies. There are fears the group's expansion will create new strains because of the wealth gap between East and West.

TV3 6pm News 2/05/04

Presenter (Caroline Robinson): A ceremony in Dublin has celebrated the expansion of the European Union. Ireland currently holds the rotating EU presidency. With their flags all flying the leaders of the ten new member states lined up for a historic group photo alongside the 15 old-timers. But not everyone was celebrating, elsewhere in Dublin riot police turned a water cannon on about 500 protestors. They condemned several EU policies including closer military co-operation and the promotion of free trade. For one group the enlargement of the EU has created fresh challenges and new job opportunities. EU translators now have to cope with almost double the number of official languages.

Reporter (Richard Gisbert): life at the EU parliament was complicated enough when there were 11 official languages, now there are 20. The EU budget for translating documents in debates has grown to \$1 billion a year. Among the challenges for the 1000 new translators who pass the test how to translate bureaucratic terms like subsidiarity into Polish.

Translator: There are some expressions that are simply non-existent in our languages.

Reporter: Then there are the obscure languages. Malta is an island nation of just 400,000. Translating Maltese to English for an EU debate is easy but what about translating it to another lesser known language? If I needed quickly to get a translator from Maltese into Lithuanian could I get one?

Alan Xuereb (translation consultant): I don't think so.

Reporter: The solution; relay translations. One translator goes from Maltese to a major language like English or French, another translates it to Lithuanian. It gets tricky.

Translator: Cause if, you know, if I make a mistake then all the others probably are making the same mistakes.

Reporter: the United Nations is a much bigger club but it has just six official languages. UN translators do relays and multiple relays, which can go from Arabic to French to English to Chinese.

Stephen Pearl (former UN chief English translator): And it becomes very close to that old party game, where you whisper around a circle and see what message comes out at the end.

Reporter: It's a wonder more leaders don't get frustrated. Some people think the EU should cut down the number of its official languages, that would provoke a lively debate on whether the new expanded European Union is getting lost in translation.

TV1 6pm News 7/05/04

Anchor: A Palestinian doctor and five Bulgarian nurses in Libya have been sentenced to death by firing squad for infecting hundreds of children with HIV. But there's been an international outcry over the ruling. Experts testified the epidemic hit the medics' hospital a year before they arrived. The death sentences have been condemned by the European Union, the United States and Amnesty International. Defence lawyers plan to appeal; more than 40 of the children have died.

TV1 6pm News 19/05/04

Anchor: A massive military operation by Israel that's seen homes demolished and two children shot while hanging out washing has been condemned across the world. Tanks and troops have poured into the Rafah camp in the Gaza strip in what they call an open-ended operation. The raid's been attacked by the European Union and the UN Security Council's now considering a resolution calling for immediate withdrawal.

Reporter (Martin Fletcher – NBC): Dozens of Israeli tanks and bulldozers poured into the Gaza town of Rafah overnight in the biggest army operation there since Israel occupied the land in 1967. The aim to stop Islamic militants from smuggling weapons from Egypt through tunnels like this one, dug underneath Israeli army positions. Troops seized Palestinian homes to use as sniper nests, killed at least 19 Palestinians, most of them fighters, and cut Rafah off from the rest of Gaza, no-one allowed in or out. So NBC news slipped through the fields hitched a ride, and once inside found a town in fear. A thousand Palestinians made homeless by Israeli bulldozers over the weekend, as rows of houses were flattened to widen Israel's buffer zone. Children panicked as gunshots ring out around the town and many more fleeing, afraid their homes will be next.

Lt. Gen. Moshe Yaalon (Israeli Army Chief of Staff): It's not easy for the civilians, but it's not because of us. It's because of the Palestinians aim to prefer the smuggling operation rather than civilian life.

Reporter: Help us, she says, we just want to live in peace. All the houses along this side of the road have already been destroyed, and this side of the street is next. The people packing up, leaving, taking with them anything that can be moved. Corrugated iron, door frames, better they say than leaving it to be destroyed by the Israelis.

But Israel says it only wants to defend its own troops. 13 were killed last week in 2 attacks, Israel's worst loss in 2 years. And the army says it will stay in Rafah as long as it takes to smash the militant groups.

TV1 6pm News 19/05/04

Anchor: The Prime Minister's in Italy for the 60th anniversary of the Battle of Monte Cassino, but one of her first duties on arrival was to visit the Polish President. New Zealand and Poland fought side by side at Cassino, forging a close relationship that Helen Clark hopes will stay strong in the future.

Reporter (Garth Bray): Poland's Cassino casualties remembered; 2 died here for every one New Zealander, and several New Zealand vets turned down a day's sight-seeing in Rome to be at the service.

John White (Cassino Vet): I felt I had to go because it was the purpose of our visit here to go to as many of these sort of reunions as possible, and I thought, guess this was the only chance I'd have.

Reporter: Polish troops captured the German flag at Monte-Cassino. One of the soldiers who raised their own banner and ended the battle couldn't make the long journey from his new home in Island Bay near Wellington.

Wladyslaw Banas (Polish Cassino Vet): The worst always was at night-time, you can smell, the rats was running and the smell from the dead bodies. Rats were running all over you.

Reporter: Poland's now part of the European Union, prompting a call from Helen Clark on its President. Both are in town for Cassino commemorations.

Helen Clark: The bond here in the Italian campaign was close, the fact that New Zealand took the Polish orphans and gave them a new life was very much appreciated by Poland, at the time, and now as it goes into the European Union where its going to be important, it's really of great significance to New Zealand, which is why we are spending a lot of money to set up an embassy there.

Reporter: Helen Clark is mixing diplomacy and remembrance again later this week when she meets with Italy's Prime Minister. But Mr Berlusconi is a staunch supporter of today's war, the one in Iraq, meaning it may be harder for Helen Clark to convince him that old ties still matter now.

Garth Bray, One News, Rome.

TV3 6pm News 19/05/04

Anchor: The Israeli army has destroyed a tunnel network used for smuggling weapons by Palestinians. But the raid on a camp on the Gaza strip also killed 20 refugees. The army went in using helicopters, missiles, and tanks against militants using the camp, but some civilians were killed including two teenagers, and hundreds of Palestinian houses were destroyed. The United Nations and the European Union have condemned the assault, while President Bush called it troubling.

TV1 6pm News 4/06/04

Anchor: Helen Clark has been in the Netherlands meeting the Dutch Queen and top politicians ahead of the D-Day commemorations in France. It's the Prime Minister's second time in Europe in a matter of weeks. She says it's essential New Zealand maintains a high profile in the region.

Reporter (Lisa Owen): The enthusiastic welcome is more to do with the appearance of the man dubbed "The Dutch Harry Potter" than Helen Clark.

Jan Peter Balkenende (Dutch PM): There are excellent bilateral relations between New Zealand and the Netherlands. That probably has to do with the fact that a lot of people who are now living in New Zealand are of Dutch origin.

Reporter: The Prime Minister's on a whirl-wind tour of Europe that's set to provide Miss Clark and a Labour Party flagging in some political polls with plenty of photo opportunities, including one with her Majesty, Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands. No talk though, of republicanism in their 45 minute talk.

Helen Clark: I don't think it was on her agenda, no.

Reporter: What apparently was on the agenda in a number of closed-door pow-wows, was Iraq. The Netherlands will decide in the next fortnight whether to withdraw the 1300 troops it has there providing security.

Dr. Bernard Bot (Dutch Foreign Affairs Minister): It is of extreme importance to us to continue with our troop presence in Iraq that there is a UN resolution, that there is a UN presence, and that there is a strong Iraqi government.

Reporter: It's Helen Clark's second visit to Europe in a matter of weeks. Away from home with her party struggling in the polls, and a controversial byelection just around the corner.

Helen Clark: I think 3 nights in Europe one week and 5 nights two weeks later is scarcely a lot of time, when you consider the importance of these relationships to us.

Reporter: The Netherlands is due to take over the Presidency of the European Union, which is New Zealand's second biggest export market. It's been almost a decade since a New Zealand Prime Minister called here to press the flesh. Helen Clark says this trip is all about keeping New Zealand's profile up, so that we don't slip off the map and out of the market.

Lisa Owen, One News, The Hague.

TV1 6pm News 10/6/04

Anchor: A Nobel Peace Prize nominee and three other Kurdish activists are free tonight after spending a decade in a Turkish jail. Their release is expected to boost Turkey's chances of joining the European Union. Cheering crowds greeted the four. All were former members of Parliament. They were jailed in 1994 for having links to Kurdish rebels. Their release coincided with the first Kurdish language broadcasts on state TV. The four told reporters Turkey had entered a new era. The European Union had warned their continued detention could wreck Turkey's bid for EU membership.

TV1 6pm News 28/6/04

Anchor: The dawning of a new political era is being celebrated tonight in Serbia. It has its first democratically elected President since the Second World War Boris Tadic saw off the challenge of a hard-lined Nationalist, securing nearly 54% of the vote. News of his victory brought crowds out onto the streets of Belgrade and other major towns and cities. The 46-year old liberal has vowed to get Serbia fit for European Union membership, and press on with reforms started four years ago after the defeat of war-crimes accused President Slobodan Milosevic.

TV1 6pm News 1/8/04

Anchor: Farmers are celebrated a break-through in trade talks half a world away – a break-through that should see new markets open up for New Zealand produce. After years of negotiating, members of the World Trade Organisation have finally agreed to scrap subsidies that wealthy countries give to their farmers.

Reporter (Vicki Wilkinson-Baker): It's a long way from kiwi farmland to the World Trade Organisation in Geneva, but a deal done there is good news for our exporters.

(?): I think it's a great positive move forward.

Reporter: Negotiations have been long and hard. For something like 50 years, New Zealand has been arguing for big developed countries to drop farm subsidies. Earlier today, a glimmer of hope.

Supachai Panitchpakdi (WTO Director-General): Well, let's see how things move on.

Reporter: More talks, more negotiating. Crucial for our farmers who have basically been subsidy-free for 20 years. Finally agreement, with America and the European Union promising to work towards scrapping export subsidies and reducing domestic subsidies. Subsidies that give their farmers an unfair advantage.

SP: We have proof again that when our members sit down and put their minds together, we can overcome all kinds of obstacles.

Reporter: Our negotiating team is claiming victory.

(Voice of Jim Sutton – Trade Negotiations Minister): This has taken a rough playing field and put a giant grader through it – it's terrific.

Reporter: Federated farmers welcome the news.

Tony St. Clair (Federated Farmers): Market access into some of these protected markets will certainly avail us a lot of opportunities in the future.

Reporter: The concessions by the rich countries give poorer nations the chance to trade their way out of poverty.

Jim Sutton: Obviously the African group are going to benefit from this. If they can get access to European markets.

Reporter: It's not all finalised yet, and it could be several years before the subsidies actually come off.

Vicki Wilkinson-Baker, One News.

TV1 6pm News 24/09/04

Anchor: A sudden back-down on a plan to lock up adulterers has put Turkey's dream of joining the European Union back on the table. EU countries had halted its application, but now the largely Muslim nation could be on the path to history.

Reporter (Stephen Sackur – BBC): Is Turkey ready for membership? These Turkish human rights activists think not, but inside the Brussels corridors of power, the mood? A good deal more welcoming. Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan promised EU officials he would complete reforms to safeguard human rights and the judicial process.

We're very serious about our reforms, Mr. Erdogan said, we're going to finish the job as soon as possible. And that was just what his EU hosts wanted to hear.

Guenther Verheugen (EU Enlargement Commissioner): From my point of view, there are no further conditions which Turkey must fulfill in order to allow the Commission to make to recommendation.

Reporter: So here in Brussels amid all these symbols of "old Europe", the European Union is contemplating a truly radical step – embracing a very large Muslim nation, which is mostly (geographically) outside of Europe. In fact, millions of Muslims live inside the European Union, including thousands here in Brussels. Accepting Turkey into the club is seen by many here as a way of showing that the Union is not an exclusive, Christian club.

Turkey – the bridge between Europe and Asia – sees EU membership as the root to prosperity, which is why the Turkish Parliament seems ready to pass key legal reforms, and why it's dropped a controversial plan to outlaw adultery. That had prompted anger from Turkish women's groups, and it raised questions about the cultural gap between Turkey and Europe. Turkey doesn't yet do things the EU way, but in its courts, and on the death penalty, it is changing. But for powerful opponents of Turkey's EU membership, that's not the point.

Hartmut Nassauer (German Conservatives Leader): Turkey is too far away from the centre of Europe, and I would like to concentrate this European Union idea on well, the centre of Europe, its culture.

Reporter: The Turks took a step towards the EU today, but this is a highly controversial issue.

TV1 6pm News 4/10/04

Anchor: Raids by French police have netted two of Spain's most wanted terror suspects. A senior political leader of the Basque separatist group ETA and his partner have been arrested along with 20 others. Spanish authorities say the operation's saved dozens if not hundreds of lives.

Reporter (Katya Adler – BBC): Pouncing on the suspected enemy – Spanish and French anti-terror police swooped on a number of houses like this one in isolated areas of south west France. They hope to strike a fatal blow against the armed Basque separatist group ETA – identified as a terrorist organization by the United States and the European Union. For over 30 years the Basque separatist movement has waged a bloody campaign aimed at securing independence for seven certain regions in north west Spain and south west France. ETA first used violence in 1961. To date, they've been blamed for over 800 deaths. Targeting tourists and civilians as well as politicians and policemen. The group has declared war on Spanish society as a whole. Today's police raids were the most recent in the long struggle to silence ETA. But there was a prize catch. This man Micaelo Bizu, thought to be ETA's top political leader. The Spanish government said a victory had been won against terror.

(Via translator) Jose Alonson (Spanish Interior Minister): This operation is a great success. Seven places have been registered. Many weapons and explosives have been seized, and 21 people are now arrested.

Reporter: Tonight in Madrid, the police operation in south west France is being hailed as the biggest blow against ETA in years. But the Spanish authorities warn although weakened, the armed Basque separatist group remains dangerous and that therefore they will continue their cross border crackdown against ETA with the help of the French authorities.

TV3 6pm News 23/10/04

Anchor: The European Union is hoping printing graphic photographs on cigarette packets will be worth more than thousands of words of warning. Tobacco is the single largest cause of death in the 25 nation EU. It's blamed for killing more than 600,000 people a year. It will be up to individual countries to decide if they want the photos or not.

TV1 6pm News 30/10/04

Anchor: The leaders of 25 nations have signed the European Union's first constitution – an ambitious charter aimed at boosting the continent's presence on the world stage. It was approved at a lavish ceremony in Rome after more than two years of sometimes bitter debate. But the historic treaty still has a long way to go before it comes into effect.

Reporter (Stephen Sackur – BBC): Rome has seen European empires come and go. Today the Eternal City; the stage for EU leaders trying to make their own mark on the continent's history. They stood to attention for Beethoven like founding fathers bursting with self-conscience pride. Their lavish celebration was choreographed by Italian director Franko Ziperelli. Every leader was given a personal guide dressed by Valentino. Embarrassing perhaps for some, but the aim? To make the EU constitution irresistible.

Two dates, said Silvio Berlusconi, will define our Europe. The first, 47 years ago in the same Rome building, when 6 countries – Britain not among them – signed the treaty which created the European Union. Now of course, it's expanded dramatically. In size – there are now 25 members – and in its powers.

One by one, serenaded by Enya, the 25 signed the constitutional treaty they've haggled over for two long years. So what will the constitution actually mean? Well, it will create a high profile EU President, and a foreign minister as well. There'll be more decision-making by majority vote, and a charter of fundamental rights for all EU citizens.

Will the constitution really cement the Union? Well, at least 10 countries, including Britain, are going to have referendums over the next two years. One no vote will block the treaty. And of course, EU leaders have a more immediate headache. The Union's executive – the Commission – is in limbo because of a row over Italy's controversial conservative nominee Rocco Buttiglione who was here today but may be gone tomorrow. It just goes to show; nothing in the EU family is simple.

TV1 6pm News 31/10/04

Anchor: The Italian whose comments about homosexuality and the place of women provoked a crisis in the European Union Commission, has withdrawn from the running to be its next justice minister. Rocco Buttiglione , a close friend of Pope John Paul, told reporters he'd fallen victim to a Parliamentary ambush, but wanted to smooth the way for a new Commission. A vote on it was called off on Wednesday because of unprecedented opposition to his nomination. But Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi will keep him on as Italy's minister for European affairs.

TV1 6pm News 6/11/04

Anchor: Hundreds of people in Nelson are calling for a ban on the use of the pesticide methylobromide at the local port during summer. They're joining the campaign of a Nelson man who claims his life has been wrecked by poisoning from the chemical.

Reporter (Andrew Keoghan): Life's given Ian Street a bitter pill to swallow since he was exposed to the pesticide methylbromide.

Ian Street: I want it banned, totally banned.

Reporter: And 500 others in Nelson agree. They've signed a petition seeking a ban on the use of the pesticide at the Port of Nelson.

Petitioner: Methylbromide is depleting the ozone layer, plus all these people that are getting ill.

Reporter: Four years ago he was loading timber onto ships at Port Nelson; bound for Australia it had been fumigated with methylbromide. The forklift driver moved it too soon.

Ian Street: The headache was that bad I was blinded, virtually blinded, by the pain. And my eyes were actually starting to stream at that stage. I couldn't breathe, I was gasping.

Reporter: He was forced to give up his job, suffering from migraines, breathlessness and depression. OSH ordered the company that had fumigated the timber to tighten its safety procedures. Methylbromide is banned in all European Union countries, but not here, and Australia demands all timber they receive from us be fumigated with it to kill pine beetle. They've just halved the amount required on timber.

Ian Street: They've done this before, and they put it back up again.

Reporter: There is another fumigant that's used on logs that are exported to parts of Asia. It's called phosphine, and it doesn't deplete the ozone layer. The problem is Australian authorities won't accept it because it doesn't kill the insects fast enough. MAF's trying to convince them to use phosphine instead.

Peter Thompson (MAF) We'll need to be able to demonstrate that when we apply phosphine it's effective by the time it reaches the Australian border, and there'll be no live pests.

Reporter: ACC says up to 6 people have made claims of methylbromide poisoning, including Ian Street. He's back working part time, but hopes the petition to Nelson authorities will mean others don't suffer like him. Andrew Keoghan, One News.

TV1 6pm News 6/11/04

Anchor: Well the looming battle in Fallujah comes despite a warning from the United Nations chief. Kofi Annan says it could further divide and anger the Iraqi people, but at a meeting of European leaders in Belgium today, Iraq's leader said time is running out for insurgents holed up in the city.

Reporter (Stephen Sackur – BBC): Strange perhaps to find Iraq's Prime Minister in Brussels today, but Iyad Allawi is looking beyond the military showdown in Fallujah. He wants to see the EU fully engaged in the stabilization and rebuilding of his country. That's what Tony Blair wants too, and this morning they were singing the same tune.

Tony Blair (British PM): Those people that are trying to create circumstances of chaos and instability in Iraq are doing so because of their fear of the democratic process.

Iyad Allawi (Iraqi Interim PM): We are going to win in our war against terrorism, and we are going to lead the democratic process forward in Iraq.

Reporter: Just down the road Jacques Chirac was already marching into the summit. He couldn't find time for Mr. Allawi, and though he made no mention of Fallujah, his disdain for the military option came across loud and clear. France's message is clear, he said, the solution in Iraq must be political, it must follow UN resolutions and end with foreign troops being withdrawn. EU leaders minus Mr. Chirac then gathered for the family photo – they agreed to give Iraq a bit more money, but behind the scenes there was some trepidation about events unfolding in Iraq. More so when it was revealed that UN Secretary General Kofi Annan had written to Misters Bush, Blair and Allawi asking them not to seek a military solution. The threat or actual use of force not only risks deepening the alienation of certain communities, he wrote, it will also reinforce the perceptions of a continued military occupation. Tonight virtually no one believes that an all out assault on Fallujah can be avoided, but if the death toll is high, and the civilian suffering as profound as some fear, then the diplomatic fall-out could be damaging both here in Europe and at the United Nations.

Anchor: Most of Fallujah's 300,000 strong population has already fled but about 50,000 people are still thought to be there, including several thousand Sunni Muslim insurgents.

TV3 6pm News 15/11/04

Anchor: In other news from the Middle East, Iran has agreed to suspend its controversial uranium enrichment program as part of a deal with the EU. Iran has insisted that its nuclear work is not aimed at war, but the US says its part of a secret weapons program.

TV3 6pm News 23/11/04

Anchor: One of New Zealand's most picturesque lakes is to be sprayed with herbicide in a bid to get rid of choking weed. Some residents fear the use of the herbicide Diquat in Lake Wanaka could affect public health, maybe even causing birth defects. But, as Leanne Malcolm reports, NIWA scientists say the claims are scaring people for no reason.

LM: Battling to keep their lake chemical spray. This trio claim the Diquat spraying is a threat to public health.

Jude Battson (Former Community Board Member): Diquat is draconian and the majority of the community think that.

Jennie Blennerhassett (Anti-Diquat Protestor): The fact that it's been banned for use on land and in water in Denmark since 1998, and the fact that it's been banned in the EU after extensive research, just escalates my concern.

LM: The issue has galvanized the people of Wanaka, who want to maintain its clean, green image. Hundreds have signed petitions and attended public meetings against the spraying, but things came to a head last week when protestors claimed the herbicide would cause birth defects and leak into water supplies.

John Clayton (NIWA scientist) It's completely untrue; there's absolutely no record of that whatsoever. I think if you were to look at the concentrated compounds of all sorts of combinations, like Chlorine for example, you would find it's actually more toxic than Diquat.

LM: Dr Clayton says Diquat's been safely used in Lake Rotorua for forty years. He says the concentration of herbicide to be used in Wanaka is very low; one and a half parts per million.

JC: Here we have a twenty litre bucket of water, and the amount of Diquat to be used to control weeds, is this much. Two drops in twenty litres.

LM: He's supported by Queenstown mayor Clive Geddes who says if something's isn't done now to control the oxygen weed that's choking Lake Wanaka then there could be a catastrophe in years to come.

CG: Lake Wanaka is accepted in statute as a national treasure, and all of the organizations that have a statutory responsibility for its well being have agreed that Diquat used at defoliant rates, and as a precursor to mechanical and hand clearing is the only way that we are going to be able to protect the biodiversity and amenity value of the lake going into the future.

LM: This rain means the aerial spraying can't begin just yet, but it is due to start before the end of November. The anti-spray campaigners are happy about the rain though – they say it gives them more time to push their case.

Leanne Malcolm, 3 News.

TV1 6pm News 26/11/04

Anchor: The struggle for power in Ukraine is dragging in more and more foreign politicians, and threatening a new split between east and west. Russian leader Vladimir Putin has told outsiders to butt-out, saying they have no right to push Ukraine into mass mayhem. But tonight the European Union's policy chief and the Polish President are heading to Kiev. And, on the streets there's no sign anyone is about to give in.

Reporter (Damian Grammaticas – BBC): Face to face on the streets of Kiev tonight. Opposition supporters are out on the streets in ever greater numbers. And government men, coal miners shipped in from Danjske in the east, to give voice to the government's cause. Fearing the situation in Ukraine is becoming more and more polarized, the former Polish President came to Kiev on an urgent mission. He met with the opposition leader and also the Prime Minister. After his meetings he told me both sides want compromise but the situation is tense.

Polish Guy (speaking through a translator): The next 48 hours in my opinion will be the most dangerous. Anything could happen; one small incident then the police will step in, and the situation in unstoppable.

Reporter: Outside Ukraine's Supreme Court today, government supporters. Inside, the judges were ruling that they will hear the opposition's complaints of fraud in the election, and they've said the Prime Minister cannot be sworn in as President until the case is completed. But at the mass demonstrations in the central square, Viktor Yushenko, the opposition leader. He hailed the Supreme Court ruling, telling his people it was the first step towards what would be their eventual victory. So tonight, it is these people who have been given a boost by the news from the Supreme Court. But their leaders are refusing to let up the pressure – they have called on their supporters to blockade public roads, even important government buildings. For now the mood remains peaceful, upbeat. The crowds entertained by a show making fun of their political leaders. But there's still a gulf between the two sides.

TV1 6pm News 11/12/04

Anchor: Europe's most ambitious space program yet looks set to worsen already strained relations with the United States. EU ministers have given the go ahead to a 3 billion dollar navigation system that will rival America's GPS network. But already the US is making plans to jam it.

Reporter (David Shukman - INA): Tonight from the modest labs of a space company in Guileford, Europe is making a highly controversial leap for the stars. This is the first work on a fleet of satellites. After launching its own currency, the EU is now launching its own navigation system in space. The plan is for around 30 European satellites – as many as the rival American system GPS – but far more accurate. They'd locate anything with a receiver within 2 metres. That'll allow far more precise navigation, monitoring traffic would be easier, and rescuers could swiftly pinpoint people in trouble – there are many applications. The Galileo project will cost a billion pounds initially, and the same again later. It should create thousands of high tech jobs, but in Westminster MPs have doubts about the eventual bill for this Euro venture into orbit.

Gwyneth Dunwoody (Transport Select Committee): At a certain point someone is going to have to decide the whole cost, what this system is going to do that we don't get from somewhere else, and if its value for money.

Reporter: And the Galileo project has come under fire from America. The Pentagon is already planning how to block the signal, to prevent potential enemies like China from using it.

John Pike (Space Analyst): What the United States would propose to do would be to locally jam the Galileo signal, so that airlines flying in Europe could still use it but Chinese missiles opposite Taiwan would not be able to use it.

Reporter: Tonight as the prototype is assembled America is having to get used to the new player in orbit. The Galileo system may be in small pieces at the moment, but its about to mark Europe's arrival as a major power in space.

TV1 6pm News 13/12/04

Anchor: Police in Turkey have clashed with demonstrators at the end of a massive protest in the mainly Kurdish city of Diyarbakir. They were backing Turkey's bid for membership of the European Union, which they hope will mean greater freedoms for Kurds. The protest erupted when police stopped the crowd from marching onto a main avenue. Several people were injured including two police officers. Improving rights for minorities has been made a condition of EU entry.

TV1 6pm News 17/12/04

Anchor: The European Union is close to beginning membership talks with Turkey that would end a 40 year wait. But EU leaders have warned that Ankara must...(unclear/reader mistake)...that Turkey would first have to recognize Cyprus and that entry is by no means guaranteed.

Reporter (Stephen Sackur – BBC): This morning, Turkey's Prime Minister Erdoğan arrived in Brussels in search of a deal which could change his country forever. After years of maneuvering and misunderstanding, European leaders are poised finally to give Muslim Turkey a date for the start of formal membership talks.

Jose Manuel Barroso (EU Commission President): If we start negotiations with Turkey it should be with full European Union membership in mind. There must be no last minute conditions; no new hurdles to overcome. I believe the time to start negotiations with Turkey has come.

Reporter: That's what Tony Blair believes too. He sees integrating Turkey as an historical opportunity to extend the EU's zone of peace, prosperity and democracy right up to the borders of Iraq and Iran.

In some member states, public opinion on the Turkey question is less enthusiastic than EU leaders.

These things aren't easy, Germany's Chancellor Schröder said, but I believe membership talks will start in 2005.

A veritable army of Turkish journalists is here to cover the summit. There are still outstanding issues, like Turkey's failure to recognize the government of Cyprus for example. But there's also a sense of momentum building.

Bahadır Kaleagasi (Turkish Industry and Business Association): Europe needs to be an enlarged market, a reinforced area of political union, and cooperation, and Turkey will bring an important part of dynamism to this market and also to the European social system.

Reporter: Tonight the Turkish Prime Minister mobbed by reporters. He seemed confident the momentous deal was close. Turkey may soon be on the long road to EU membership.

TV1 6pm News 18/12/04

Anchor: The growing scandal over Iraq's Oil for Food program is threatening to engulf the United Nations' highest official. Kofi Annan is coming under increasing pressure to resign as American-led enquiries try to establish how the scheme became so riddled with corruption. As in the war, the Secretary General's found no public support from the US President, but he was among friends at a summit of European Union leaders.

Reporter (Matt Frei – BBC): What a relief it must be for Kofi Annan – the guest of honour at today's European Summit. Comfortable among friends, and not grilled about a scandal that threatens to divide the UN and sink him.

Norm Coleman (US Senator): I believe that the credibility of the United Nations to monitor any future sanctions, programmes, hangs in the balance unless the corruption and mismanagement of Oil for Food is identified and rooted out.

Reporter: In Washington, Senator Norm Coleman heads one of 5 congressional investigations into the UN's Oil for Food programme with Iraq. He became the first of dozens of Republicans calling on Kofi Annan to resign.

NC: The question that hangs out there is, how high up does the corruption go?

Reporter: The programme was devised here at the UN in the 90s when Iraq was under sanctions. It allowed the regime to sell a fixed amount of oil in return for much needed food and medicine. But it's widely alleged that Saddam Hussein abused it, stashing away more than 20 billion dollars in profits. The investigations want to know which companies were involved, from which countries and with what help from the UN. In the shadow of Capitol Hill, I spoke to a British academic whose been investigating the scandal.

Nile Gardiner (Heritage Foundation): There's a combination I think, of oil smuggling from neighbouring countries such as Jordan, Syria and Turkey, but also a huge programme of systematic bribes and kickbacks, partly designed to influence Security Council members such as France and Russia.

Reporter: So is it possible, as some claim, that opposition to the US invasion of Iraq in the Security Council was motivated by more than just principle? What complicates matters for Kofi Annan is that his own son Kojo was paid by a Swiss company in charge of monitoring the Oil for Food Programme.

Kofi Annan (UN Secretary General): I am interested to see the investigations concluded as quickly as possible so that we can get/put it behind us and focus on the essential work of the United Nations.

(Question from Media): Are you concerned by continuing accusations about your son?

Colin Powell (US Secretary of State): We want to get to the bottom of these matters as quickly as we can, and that is in our mutual interests to do so.

Reporter: A pat on the back here yesterday, but no meeting with President Bush, and no word of support. If the investigations, including those launched by the UN itself reveal negligence or misconduct at the highest level, then the knives will be out for Kofi Annan, especially from those in the Bush administration who never forgave him for opposing the war in Iraq.

APPENDIX VI

News Clips on DVD (Hard Copy only)

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ABC. "Russian nationalists in the former Soviet Republic of Latvia are warning of violence as the country prepares to join the European Union next month". *ABC News*, 12 April 2004.

ABC. "Libya's Colonel Gaddafi is making his first trip to Europe for 15 years". *ABC News*, 28 April 2004.

ABC. "The European Union has become the world's largest free trade area with the inclusion from today of 10 new members". *ABC News*, 1 May 2004.

ABC. "There is opposition to EU policies in former communist states which have just signed up with their western neighbours". *ABC News*, 2 May 2004.

ABC. "US President, George W. Bush, has arrived in Ireland to drum up more help from the European Union for the ongoing work in Iraq". *ABC News*, 26 June 2004.

ABC. "The European Union has welcomed a promise by Iran to suspend most of its uranium enrichment program". *ABC News*, 15 November 2004.

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